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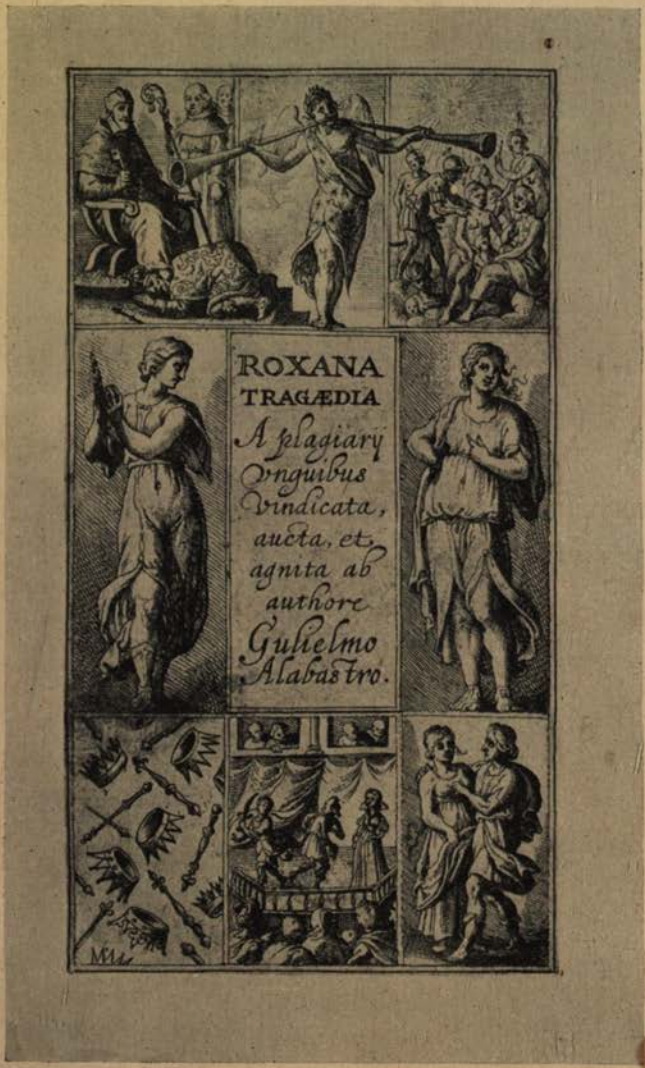

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UNIVERSITY DRAMA IN THE TUDOR AGE

BY

FREDERICK S. BOAS

M.A. (Oxon.), Hon. LL.D. (St. Andrews)

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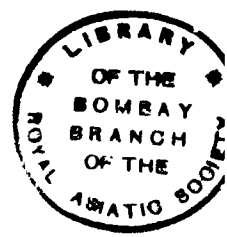

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PREFACE

THE present volume is the result of work which, in various ways, has extended over a number of years. In 1903-4, while I held the Chair of English Literature in the Queen's College (now the Queen's University), Belfast, I gave as Clark Lecturer in Trinity College, Cambridge, a series of lectures on the English Academic Drama. The delivery of this course within the walls of a great society, which had been one of the chief centres of academic acting, led me to follow the subject further, and to attempt a somewhat detailed study of University Drama in the Tudor age.

I had already entered into provisional arrangements for the publication of such a study by the Oxford University Press, when I was invited by the Syndics of the Press of the sister University to contribute to Volume VI of the *Cambridge History of English Literature* a chapter on University Plays. Through the goodwill of the two authorities I have been enabled to trace the general outlines of the whole subject in the *History of English Literature*, and in the present work to deal on a comprehensive scale with its main features in the Tudor period.

As there are many points of view from which University Drama may be studied, it may be well to indicate the lines that I have here followed.

My first interest has been in the plays themselves. I have therefore examined many of them in detail, with reference to

their sources, and the conditions in which they were acted, and have discussed their dramatic and literary values. Of three of them—Christopherson's Ἰεφθάε, Gager's *Dido*, in its complete form, and Worsley's *Synedrium Animalium* (Appendix II)—no account, so far as I am aware, has hitherto been given. Many others are little known except through the synopses of their plots by Professors Churchill and Keller in Volume XXXIV of the *Jahrbuch* of the German Shakespeare Society. Only those who have been over the same ground can fully appreciate the excellence of the work of these scholars, but literary criticism was outside the scope of their arduous pioneer labours.

In the discussion of Cambridge comedies, it will be evident how much I owe to the masterly editions of *Hymenaeus*, *Victoria*, *Pedantius*, *Laelia*, and *Club Law* by my comrade-in-arms—to use his own phrase—Professor G. C. Moore Smith. Dr. Henry Bradley's edition of *Gammer Gurtons Nedle* has also been of much service, though I question his attribution of the play to William Stevenson, and have tried to show more fully than has been hitherto done the strength of the contemporary evidence in favour of John Bridges.

I have dealt only with plays which were certainly written and, with one or two possible exceptions, performed at Oxford or Cambridge in the Tudor period. School and Inns of Court plays, though academic in the wider sense of the phrase, fall outside the limits of this volume. But in Appendixes I and II, I have given an account of two Latin dramas of doubtful *provenance*, both of which have a special interest. The British Museum Stowe MS. 957 treats the story of Absalom on Senecan lines, though it is probably not to be identified with Thomas Watson's Cambridge tragedy on the subject. *Synedrium Animalium*—a dramatization of Caxton's *Reynart the foxe*—is preserved in a single manu-

script at Trinity College, Cambridge, but there is no evidence that its author, Ralph Worsley, was at either University.

The study of the individual plays has led me to consider the general relations between the academic and the professional stage, and the attitude of the University authorities in the sixteenth century to the drama. On these points Gager's letter to Rainolds, preserved among the manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, has thrown much new light. I gave an account of this letter in August 1907 in *The Fortnightly Review*, whose Editor has always been ready to encourage research into the history of the University stage. I have here dealt in greater detail with the letter and the correspondence of which it forms part. The failure to realize the hostile spirit of the Universities in Elizabeth's reign towards professional actors and their craft has led to serious misinterpretation of famous passages in *The Return from Parnassus*.

To the internal history of the University stage I have been able to make some contributions from manuscript sources in the Oxford University Archives and from college account-books and registers. The elaborate directions in Gager's plays also furnish evidence that has not yet been sufficiently considered with regard to Elizabethan stage-arrangements. But on such matters further light yet remains to be thrown, especially from Cambridge sources.

Nor has University Drama a purely theatrical or literary interest. It formed part of the Renaissance scheme of education, as a pedagogical instrument for the teaching of classics and rhetoric. Those who have recently sought to make dialogue and action prominent factors in classical instruction will here find their methods anticipated on the widest scale.

I wish to express my deep obligation to all who have provided materials or facilities without which it would have been impossible to write this book. The Master and Council of Trinity College, Cambridge, deposited for my use at the British Museum the manuscripts of *Ἰεφθάε* and *Synedrium Animalium*; the Dean and Governing Body of Christ Church allowed the manuscript of *Dido* to be photographed, and extracts to be published from the college account-books; the President and Council of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, gave permission for photographs to be taken for this volume of parts of the manuscript letters between Gager and Rainolds in the college library; the Keeper of the Oxford University Archives placed several of the Twyne MSS. in the Bodleian for my use; the President and the Estates Bursar of Magdalen College, Oxford, the Librarian of St. John's College, Oxford, the Estates Bursar of Merton College, and the Town Clerk of Oxford allowed me to make extracts from account-books or registers; Dr. Aldis Wright let me make use of extracts by him from the accounts of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Bodley's Librarian of extracts from the Vice-Chancellors' accounts; Professor Gollancz placed at my disposal his fine copy of *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes*, and Mr. F. Bickley transcribed the manuscript of *Absalon*. Some other obligations are mentioned in my notes.

I have finally to thank the Delegates and their Secretaries for facilitating my work in every way, and for illustrating this volume with facsimiles, two of which, the title-pages of *Meleager* and *Vlysses Redux*, prove that the interest of the University Press in Oxford plays dates more than three centuries back. Mr. Percy Simpson, who has read the proof-sheets, has made valuable suggestions, and the proverbial vigilance of the Clarendon Press Readers has been of the greatest help to me. But while in quotations from manuscripts or other original

sources I have tried to preserve in the main scribal or typographical details, it has been convenient in some cases for purposes of reference to use authoritative reprints. Hence I have not aimed at uniformity throughout in such matters as expansion or otherwise of contractions and the use of 'u' and 'v' respectively. Punctuation has occasionally been modified, and capitals have been used at the beginning of each line of verse.

As I contributed a detailed bibliography of the subject to the *Cambridge History of English Literature* I have not given one here. But I have included a list of Tudor University plays, and a series of lists of academic actors, most of whom can be identified. The list of Oxford actors before Queen Elizabeth in 1566—the earliest of the kind extant—is here printed for the first time.

F. S. B.

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CHAPTER I

FROM MEDIAEVALISM TO HUMANISM

UNIVERSITY Drama in England was the product of special conditions which existed in full force for about a hundred years, from the closing decade of Henry VIII's reign to the outbreak of the Civil War. It is therefore essentially a creation of the Renaissance age. Its tentative beginnings during the mediaeval period, and its sporadic survivals after the Restoration, form but the prologue and the epilogue to its main history.

Indeed it is remarkable that Oxford and Cambridge, whether the Universities or the towns, should hold such a small place in the records of English drama before the Tudor period. Widely distributed as was the area of the Miracle Plays, extending to such far-separated points as Aberdeen, Dublin, and Cornwall, and including many of the great ecclesiastical centres, York, Chester, Canterbury, and Norwich, yet of their existence in the two chief English seats of learning only the most meagre traces remain. There is not apparently a single extant text of a cycle or of a detached play which can be connected with either Oxford or Cambridge, and this is true also of the fifteenth-century Moralities. Even the records of performances which remain are few and insignificant. The reference to the expenditure in 1350 by William de Lenne and Isabel his wife of half a mark 'in ludo Filiorum Israelis', on joining the Guild of Corpus Christi at Cambridge,[1] is to a town not a college production. Warton refers[2] to a 'fragment of an ancient accompt-roll of the dissolved college of Michael-house in Cambridge' in which, under the year 1386, the following expense is entered, 'Pro ly pallio brusdato et pro sex larvis et

[1] Masters, *Hist. of C. C. C., Cambridge*, 5.
[2] *Hist. of English Poetry*, iii. 302.

barbis in 'comedia.' Even if the reference be genuine,[1] it throws no light on the character of the 'comedia'. Nor when at the close of the mediaeval era the unimpeachable evidence of Cambridge college account-books begins to be available does it help us in this respect. The earliest entry concerning plays is in the King's College accounts for 1482[2]: 'Item sol. Goldyng & Suthey pro expensis circa ludos in festo Natalis domini vii^{s} ij^{d}.' Neither in this nor in similar entries for the Christmases of 1489, 1496, and later years is there any indication of the nature of the 'ludi', 'lusores', or 'disgysynges' with which the Nativity was celebrated.

At Oxford, had miracles or moralities been commonly performed, some reference to them might have been looked for in the MS. *Register* of Merton, the oldest foundation (1264), which begins in 1485, but there is no such entry. Nor at any of the other foundations of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries does any trace of the performance of scriptural plays appear to have been discovered. It is curious that the only detailed evidence of the acting of liturgical or miracle plays at Oxford comes from the account-books of Magdalen, a college founded at the close of the mediaeval period (1448), and one which became 'essentially the home of the Classical Renaissance in Oxford'. As far as can be gathered from the items recorded, the Magdalen religious plays were chiefly of the liturgical type. Such is the Easter *Quem quaeritis*,[3] which dates from as early as the tenth century. In its longer form this includes the advent of the three Marys to the empty sepulchre, and their dialogue with the angel, followed by their announcement of the Resurrection to the disciples; the visit to the

[1] In vol. vi of *The Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, 294, I was inclined to accept the reference on Warton's authority, though the use of 'comedia' rather than 'ludus' at this early period appeared somewhat suspicious. But the information that I have since received (cf. *inf.*, p. 8), that he fabricated a reference to a Christmas lord in the accounts of Trinity College, Oxford, 1557, coupled with his fabrications elsewhere (cf. H. E. D. Blakiston, 'Thomas Warton and Machyn's Diary' in *The Eng. Hist. Review*, vol. xi. 282-300), makes it clear that his unsupported evidence is not to be trusted. He cites vaguely the Rawlinson MSS. as his authority, but the reference has never been identified.

[2] G. C. Moore Smith, *Cambridge Plays before 1585*, in *Fasciculus J. W. Clark dicatus*, 267.

[3] On this and the liturgical plays mentioned below cf. E. K. Chambers, *Med. Stage*, vol. ii, chaps. xviii and xix.

sepulchre of Peter and John; the appearance of the risen Christ to Mary Magdalen, who takes Him for the gardener, till He reveals Himself. Other liturgical plays are connected with Christmas and Epiphany, as the *Pastores*, the *Stella*, and the *Prophetae*. Such entries as the following prove the regular performance in Magdalen chapel of such rudimentary religious dramas on the great festivals[1]:

1486/7. pro factura sepulturae erga pascham . . xij^{d}
1509/10. Sol. pane, cibo et aliis datis pueris ludentibus in die Paschae . . . . . xvij^{d} ob
1518/9. To Perrot, the Master of the choristers, pro tinctura et facture tunice ejus qui ageret partem Christi, et pro crinibus mulieribus . . . . . ij vj^{d}
1538. pro carbonibus consumptis in sacrario, per custodes sepulchri, et per pueros in festis hiemalibus . . ij^{s}

Other payments for 'ludi' or 'interludia' at Christmas 1486, 1487, 1502, and in 1512/3 to 'Petro Pyper pro pypyng in interludio nocte Sancti Iohannis' and to 'Iohanni Tabourner pro lusione in interludio Octavis Epiphanie' need not necessarily refer to religious plays. But from the details of the expenditure on a play on St. Mary Magdalene in 1506/7 it would appear that this was a full miracle drama acted probably in the college hall. John Burgess, B.A. was paid 10*d.* 'pro scriptura lusi', and 5*s.* for some music; 8*d.* was given to a man who brought some songs from Edward Martyn, M.A.; and Kendall, a clerk, received a shilling for his diligence with regard to the play. The dedication of the college to a Saint who figured so prominently in liturgical and miracle plays doubtless helps to account for the greater vogue of religious drama at Magdalen than in foundations of older date.

But there was another less literary and formal manifestation of the mediaeval dramatic instinct which found wider scope at both Universities. It was inevitable that academic societies whose members were in residence all the year round, and who needed some outlet for high spirits at holiday times, should have taken some part in the extraordinary series of mummings and disguisings, known in different forms as the Feast of Fools,

[1] For the extracts that follow from the Magdalen College account-books see W.D. Macray's *Register of the Members of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford*, vols. i and ii.

the Boy Bishop, the Christmas Prince, the Lord of Misrule, and the like. Small communities graded in the rigid fashion necessary to collegiate and semi-clerical institutions must have taken keen delight in the 'inversion of status' common to these various forms of revelry, and in the creation of mock dignitaries who bore for a time undisputed sway.

The earliest college dignitary of this type known to us is the *Rex Fabarum* at Merton.[1] Wood's account of his method of election and his powers is familiar[2]:

'On the 19th of November, being the vigil of S. Edmund, King and Martyr, letters under seal were pretended to have been brought from some place beyond sea, for the election of a King of Christmas, or Misrule, sometimes called with us of the aforesaid college, Rex Fabarum. The said letters being put into the hands of the Bachelaur Fellows, they brought them into the Hall that night, and standing, sometimes walking, round the fire, there reading the contents of them, would choose the senior Fellow that had not yet borne that office, whether he was a Doctor of Divinity, Law, or Physic, and being so elected had power put into his hands of punishing all misdemeanours done in the time of Christmas, either by imposing exercises on the juniors, or putting into the stocks at the end of the Hall any of the servants, with other punishments that were sometimes very ridiculous. He had always a chair provided for him, and would sit in great state when any speeches were spoken, or justice to be executed, and so this his authority would continue till Candlemas, or

[1] I agree with Mr. E. K. Chambers (*Med. Stage*, i. 411–12) that the three Latin letters in the Oxford Hist. Society's *Collectanea*, i. 39 ff., dealing with the election of Robertus Grosteste as a *Rex Natalicius*, and with certain abuses under his rule, cannot relate to an episode in the Oxford life of the great scholar who became Chancellor of the University about 1214, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. There were no colleges at so early a date in which a *Rex* could hold sway. I have hitherto searched and inquired in vain for the originals of these letters. They appear to refer to a later Christmas lord who adopted in jest the name of the mediaeval prelate who was bitterly opposed to the Feast of Fools and mediaeval *ludi* generally. As the third letter is a parody of a Papal epistle to a sovereign, the documents probably date from before the Reformation period. Had not the Merton 'lord' been invariably called in the MS. *Register*, when the full title is given, *Rex Fabarum* or *Rex Regni Fabarum* (and not *Rex Natalicius*), I would have been inclined to connect them with that college, where the *Rex* was always appointed on the authority of letters supposed to be brought from a far country. The letter confirming Grosteste's election is 'datum in aere luminoso supra Bethlemeticam regionem'.

[2] *Hist. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford*, ii. 136.

much about the time that the Ignis Regentium was celebrated in that College.'

Wood's account, based doubtless in part on the current Merton tradition of his own time, may be taken as substantially accurate, but it needs to be checked and supplemented in certain particulars from the College *Register*. Thus he says that the 'custom hath been as ancient, for aught that I know, as the College itself', and elsewhere he states without qualification, 'from the first foundation the fellows annually elected . . . a Christmas lord or lord of misrule, styled in their registers *Rex Fabarum* and *Rex Regni Fabarum*.'[1] All, however, that can be affirmed with certainty is that the first election mentioned in the *Register* is that of John Person in 1485, and that he is said to have been appointed 'p antiquã consuetudinẽ'. From this date the list of Reges is given without a break till 1539. The particulars given under the years 1512 and 1513 confirm generally Wood's account of the ceremonies connected with the election,[2] and in 1517, when John Poleyn was elected, mention is made of the Warden's indignation when he heard of the omission of the customary ritual. 'Audita negligentia Senioris Bacularij in prouidendo litterã cum sigillo' he directed that till he gave proof of his penitence 'ne denarium vnum exhibicionis Williot accipiat neque Senioris Locũ et ordinem'. It is evident that the 'Kingship' was often conferred to signalize some real preferment of the recipient, and it is therefore doubtful if Wood is right in saying that the senior Fellow was necessarily appointed. Thus in 1485 Person was elected because he was promoted to the college of Eton; in 1494 Robert Dale, who was at the time a Proctor of the University; in 1501 Hugh Sawnders on the day that he became a Doctor of Theology and was promoted to the Vicarage of Meopham. There are several cases where the holding of the senior Fellowship is mentioned as one of the reasons for appointment, e.g. in 1502, 1503, and 1504, but in each instance the

[1] *Athenae Oxonienses* (ed. Bliss), iii. 480.

[2] Thus under date Nov. 19, 1513, 'In vigilia sancti Edmundi regis venerunt nũcii de ptibus remotis afferẽtes secũ litteras p rege eligendo; q̃bus lectis aliisq consuetudinibus pactis,' Richard Symons was elected rex.

'King' had also received promotion. 1503 was a time of plague, and it is stated that there were very few in residence to make the election; in 1518 the plague was again rife, and there were only two Bachelors present at the election of Mr. Frendschyppe, but all the customary ceremonies were observed. In 1506 there was the exceptional case of a 'King' being elected *in absentia*, John Chamber, Doctor of Medicine (afterwards Warden), who was then at Rome, being chosen.

It appears to have been the custom for the Rex to give an entertainment in the January after his election, as this is noted in 1508/9, 1509/10, 1512/3, 1514/5, on the 8th, 19th, 24th, and 29th of the month respectively. If Wood is right in his statement that he held sway 'till Candlemas', the entertainment probably marked the approaching close of his period of authority. There is nothing in the *Register* about the way in which this authority was exercised, but the details given by Wood probably have sufficient documentary or traditional basis. It is unfortunate, however, that he does not give the authority for his allusion to an oration 'dè ligno et foeno' made in 1557 by David de la Hyde 'in praise of Mr. Jasper Heywood, about this time King, or Christmas Lord of the said college, being it seems the last that bore that commendable office'.[1] The *Register* does not mention 'kings' annually after 1539, but if Wood is correct, it is an interesting point of contact between mediaevalism and humanism that Jasper Heywood, translator in 1559–61 of Seneca's *Troas*, *Thyestes*, and *Hercules Furens*, should have been the last Merton *Rex Fabarum*.

Merton appears to be the only college in either University where there is explicit evidence of a mock 'king' or 'lord' having existed in the main mediaeval period. But this species of mummery cannot have been confined even at an early date to one foundation, and in the colleges which arose as the middle age was drawing to its close, and in those which sprang from the impulses of the Renaissance, it is found in vigorous activity. It was in vogue at New College in the earlier half of the sixteenth century. When Thomas Martyn, a Roman Catholic controversialist, published in 1554 a treatise in

[1] *Hist. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford*, ii. 136.

answer to Bishop Ponet's *A Defence for Marriage of Priestes* (1548), the Bishop replied in *An Apologie* (1556). Herein he declares (pp. 14–15) that men might easily perceive from Martyn's book 'that in playnge the Christmas lords minion in New Colledge in Oxford in thy foles coat that thou didest learne thy boldnes, and lost thy witt, and began to put of all shame and to put on all impudencye'. At Magdalen when Robert Ashley was chosen Christmas lord in 1588, he testifies that 'solennis in Collegio mos inolevisset' for such an election to be made.[1] At Christ Church a Christmas lord evidently exercised sway at least as early as the reconstitution of the College in 1546. On December 12, 1554, the Dean and Chapter decreed that 'there shall be no more allowed yearly towards the charges of the pastime in Christmas and the playes . . . but for two Comedies 20^{s} a piece and for two tragedies 40^{s} a piece . . . towards the Lords other charges also 13^{s} 4^{d} yearly to be allowed and no more'.[2] Evidently the entertainment had been found to be too costly.

At St. John's also a Christmas lord must have been chosen either annually or from time to time from the foundation of the College in 1555 till 1577, for in 1607 Thomas Tucker was elected to the office, which had not been filled for thirty years. The remarkable proceedings during his 'reign', which lasted from All Saints' Day till Shrove Tuesday, fall outside the limits of this volume.[3] But it may be said generally that while the ceremonies connected with the Prince's installation and the appointment of his officers, and the revels on Christmas Day, when he took the Vice-president's chair in hall, and the boar's head was brought in with carols, doubtless have their origin in mediaeval merriments like the *Rex Fabarum*, on the other hand the elaborate series of plays presented, including tragedies and comedies both in English and Latin, as well as various 'shews', are a product of the full Renaissance.

At Trinity, founded by Sir Thomas Pope in 1556, the existence of a Christmas Prince has been inferred from an entry cited by Warton from an audit-book of 1559, 'pro

[1] See for further details *infra*, p. 196.
[2] Wood MS., chap. 7, f. 44.
[3] I have described them more fully in the *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, vi. 318–21.

prandio Principis Natalicii eodem tempore, xiii^{s}. ix^{d}.'[1] But the entry is a fabrication, for the accounts for 1559 are missing, nor is there any other mention in the College archives of a Princeps Natalicius.[2]

Our earliest explicit information about lords of misrule at Cambridge appears to date from just before the middle of the sixteenth century, though, of course, the entries in the King's College account-books concerning Christmas *ludi* in the previous century may cover such mummeries.

At St. John's no mention of a 'dominus' is made in the original statutes of 1516, or those of Bishop Fisher in 1524 and 1530. But in Henry VIII's statutes of 1545, *tit.* 26, a remarkable passage is inserted ordaining that each Fellow in his turn shall be elected 'dominus', and shall on no account refuse to carry out the duties of the office, which are set forth in detail:

'Statuimus et ordinamus ut in festo Nativitatis Domini singulus quisque socius ordine suo dominum agat, quo tempus illud honesta animi remissione et litterariis exercitationibus cum laetitia et hilaritate transigatur. Eum autem volumus ad festum Omnium Sanctorum designari ad id et pronuntiari, post quod tempus nullo modo licebit ut hoc munere se abdicet atque ad alium transferat. Et quo alacrior ad hoc munus conficiendum et idonee transigendum sit, viginti solidos a collegio ad sumptus suos levandos habeat, sic ut statuta eius ad formam Atticae aut Romanae aut alterius cuiusvis reipublicae vel Graecis vel Latinis versibus faciat et sex ad minus dialogos aut festiva aut litteraria spectacula totidem duodecim dierum noctibus exhibeat. Pro unoquoque vero dialogo aut festivo spectaculo omisso et non exhibito dominus viginti denariorum mulcta punietur.'

The punishment for failure to comply with the enactment was a heavy fine, followed by 'discommoning' unless it was paid within a specified period:

'Nolumus autem omnino ut quisquam e sociis cursum suum in agendo domino praetereat aut omittat, sub poena amissionis aliorum viginti solidorum collegio intra mensem post lapsum tempus Nativitatis Domini solvendorum; quod nisi

[1] *Hist. of English Poetry*, iii. 304.

[2] I am indebted for this information to the President of Trinity, the Rev. H. E. D. Blakiston.

fecerit communis interea careat donec plene praedictam summam et fideliter collegio persolverit.'[1]

It is in accordance with this new enactment that in an estimate of college expenditure in the 37th. year of Henry VIII's reign there appears the item, 'Stipendium unius socii qui agit dominum in tempore natalis Domini per annum xx^{s}.'[2]

Some entries of slightly later date in the Queens' College accounts show that the lords used to pay visits to neighbouring colleges. In 1548 the sum of 12*s.* 4*d.* was spent on various delicacies when the King of King's College, the Emperor [of Trinity], and the rest came to Queens'. And the item in the next year, when 4*s.* 8*d.* was disbursed for the welcome of the Legates who came hither from the Colleges of King's and Trinity, evidently refers to the visit of similar dignitaries.[3] The use of the term *Imperator* at Trinity is, according to his own account, due to the astrologer John Dee, elected one of the original Fellows of the College in 1546. 'In that College also (by my advice and by my endeavours, divers ways used with all the other colleges) was their Christmas Magistrate first named and confirmed an Emperor. The first was one Mr. Thomas Dun, a very goodly man of person, stature and complexion, and well learned also.'[4]

The Visitors sent by King Edward VI to the University in 1549 'to set some godlie direction & order there', attempted to abolish the lords by decreeing 'Nullus sit in festo nativitatis dominus ludorum quocunque modo censeatur'.[5] But it was in vain. In spite of the ordinance the Trinity *imperator* continued to hold sway. Thus in 1554 40*s.* was paid to Mr. Rooke, 'for his alowance beyng lord in Christymas,' and his successor in 1555 received the same stipend. Other expenses incurred on behalf of the dominus ludorum in 1555 were 16*d.* for 4 tipstaffs, 6*d.* for mending the sceptres, 6*d.* for making 3 crocodiles and 3 aspides, and 2*d.* for 2 vergers. So also at St. John's in 1556 the 20*s.* specified in the statutes of

[1] Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's Coll., Cam.*, 139.
[2] Baker, *St. John's Coll.*, ii. 573.
[3] Queens' Coll. Accounts, quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, v. 280.
[4] Dee, *Compendious Rehearsal*, app. to *Chronicle of John of Glastonbury*, ed. Hearne, 502.
[5] Lamb, *A Collection of Letters, Statutes, and other Documents*, 143.

1545 was paid to 'Mr. Doddington the lord in Christmas'.[1] Some of the college lords seem to have brought their mummery even into sacred precincts. On St. John's Day (December 27) 1556 'Mr. Bell sange his first masse at Peterhowse, and had a good offeringe, the Lorde of Xtes college came Xstmas lyke thyther with a drum before hym &c.'[2] On Candlemas Day 1556/7 'the Xtmas lorde at trinitie Coll. was had from the churche [the college chapel?] to the Hall with drom, bylles, &c.', which the Visitors deputed by Queen Mary to inquire into the state of the University 'lyked not'.[3] But the ordinances of Cardinal Pole issued after the Visitation contained no renewal of the Edwardian Visitors' prohibition of the popular species of mummery.[4]

The most remarkable of all the mediaeval mock dignitaries, the Boy Bishop, the choir-boy who on the feast of the Holy Innocents or on St. Nicholas's Day was vested in episcopal robes, read the office, and was conducted to and fro with full ecclesiastical state, has left slighter traces of his presence at both Universities. When William of Wykeham founded New College, Oxford, and Winchester he made provision in the statutes (1400) of both institutions for the bishop: 'Permittimus tamen quod in festo Innocencium pueri vesperas matutinas et alia divina officia legenda et cantanda dicere et exsequi valeant secundum usum et consuetudinem ecclesiae Sarum.'[5] Almost exactly the same words are used in the Charter of King's College, Cambridge (1443) (and with variations in that of the allied college at Eton), but the 'bishop' is to hold sway on St. Nicholas's Day instead of the feast of the Innocents.

[1] Hartshorne, *The Book Rarities in the University of Cambridge*, 332.

[2] Diary of John Mere, Registrary and Esquire Bedel, from November 26, 1556, to May 31, 1557, printed in Lamb, *op. cit.*, 194.

[3] Mere, *loc. cit.*, pp. 214–15.

[4] A number of entries in the Christ's College accounts seem to relate to the visits of lords of misrule from neighbouring parishes, not from other colleges. Thus in 1552/3 various sums were bestowed on 'y^e^ lord of trinitie parish'; 9*d.* was spent 'in wyne and apples at Christemas and Candlemas' when he came to the college, and 18*d.* when 'he came to our colledge y^e^ seconde time at Candlemas to drike amonge his compaignie'. A further sum was spent on 'the lorde of S. Andrewes and his compaignie' resorting to the college; and 2*d.* was paid for sedge when 'y^e^ Christemas lords came at Candlemas to y^e^ colledge with shewes'.

[5] *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, i. 79.

There appears to be no existing evidence of a 'bishop' at any other Cambridge college, but at Oxford an inventory at All Souls, whose foundation (1438) is almost contemporary with that of King's, includes 'j chem. j cap. et mitra pro episcopo Nicholao', while at Magdalen the account-books show frequent payments on his behalf from 1481 to at least 1529, and not improbably till 1540. In the following year a royal proclamation of July 12, 1541, put an end to the observance:

'And whereas heretofore dyverse and many superstitious and childysshe observations have been usid, and yet to this day are observed and kept in many and sondry partes of this realm as upon sainte Nicolas, sainte Catheryne, sainte Clement, the holye Innocentes, and such like; children be strangelye decked and apparelid to counterfaite priestes, bysshops, and women; . . . and boyes doo singe masse and preache in the pulpitt, with suche other unfittinge and inconvenyent usages, . . . the kyng's majestie therefore . . . willith and commaundeth that from henceforth all such superstitions be loste and clyerlye extinguisshed throughowte all this his realmes and dominions.'[1]

There was a short revival of the observance in London under Mary, but this does not appear to have extended to the Universities.

In this exceptional case a definite date can be fixed for the disappearance of one of the mediaeval forms of mumming, but others, as has been seen, survived amongst the new forces of humanism. So too with the more strictly dramatic products of mediaevalism in its latest phase, moralities, interludes, and 'shows'. College account-books for the first half of the sixteenth century and incidental notices indicate that they kept a place beside the newer dramatic types born of the classical revival. The unfortunate fact, already noted, that the names of plays are very seldom mentioned in the account-books makes it impossible to give details. But the verbal distinctions in the Magdalen accounts are very suggestive. In 1486, 1487, and 1495 'ludus' (or 'lusores') is used; in 1502, 1512, and 1531 'interludia' is substituted; in 1532 'ludus' reappears in 'ludus baccalaureorum'; in 1535, 1539, 1540, 1541, and 1544 'comedia' and 'tragedia' take the place of the earlier terms.

[1] Wilkins *Concilia*, iii. 860 quoted by Chambers, *op. cit.*, i. 366–7 *n.*

Without unduly pressing the phraseology, it is a fair inference that we see reflected in it the broad lines of transition from the morality to the interlude and thence to the comedy and tragedy of classical origin or inspiration.[1]

The names of two plays produced during this transition period at St. John's, Cambridge, by Thomas Artour, a Fellow of the college, between 1520 and 1532, *Microcosmus* and *Mundus plumbeus*, have been preserved by Bale. The titles suggest that they were allegorical or symbolic, 'dealing with the parallelism of man and the world, and the successive ages of the world.'[2] Even as late as 1561 a 'spectaculum' was exhibited at Magdalen by Richard Baull, the choir-master, which appears to have been of the nature of a controversial morality, as Joyner, a painter, furnished for it 'portenta religiosorum' and 'nomina haeresium'.[3] But though relics of the older dramatic order survived, it was the dynamic influences of humanism that stirred Oxford and Cambridge to a theatrical fervour that sought to reproduce, under new conditions, the dramatic glories of Greece and of Rome. There is no need here to retell the story of the revival of learning in the English Universities. All that is requisite is to glance at a few of the features which directly stimulated the growth of academic drama.

One of these is the great extension of the college system in the sixteenth century. Matthew Arnold's *locus classicus* on Oxford, 'whispering from her towers the last enchantments of the Middle Age,' makes us apt to forget how many of the greatest colleges both by the Isis and the Cam are Renaissance not mediaeval foundations. Even Magdalen and King's are just at the parting of the ways, while Christ Church (1546)

[1] 'Comedia', however, is used officially at Oxford as early as March 11, 1511/2, when Edmund Watson was granted a degree in grammar, on condition that he composed 'C carmina in laudem universitatis et unam comediam infra annum post gradum susceptum' (Boase, *Reg. Univ. Oxon.*, i. 298).

It would be interesting to know the character of the 'ludus optimus' which, according to the Merton *Register* (f. 219 v), was given in the college hall on January 20, 1512/3, after the Warden had entertained the Masters at his Lodge.

[2] C. H. Herford, *Lit. Relations*, 108.

[3] Macray, *op. cit.*, ii.

and St. John's (1555) at Oxford, and Christ's (1505), St. John's (1511), and Trinity (1546) at Cambridge (to mention only some of those specially prominent in theatrical history) are all of Tudor origin. With their stately buildings and ample endowments these new homes of learning were ideally suited to become the centres of a neo-classic dramatic art. Well might Roger Ascham grow eloquent over the glories of the hall of St. John's, Cambridge, 'theatrali more ornata' for the festivities after Christmas. For it is to be noted that University drama in England is, strictly speaking, College drama. Even when on the visits of august personages the University arranged theatrical entertainments it made use of college buildings, playwrights, and actors. It was largely due to the development of the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge that while the school drama flourished more on the Continent than in England it was otherwise in the case of the Universities. Whoever else may have cause to quarrel with the college system, it is certainly not the historians of the stage.

The early Renaissance period saw not only the extension of this system, but its internal consolidation. The mediaeval theory of teaching was that it was the business of the University, not the individual college, and students attended the lectures and disputations of the Regent-Masters (M.A.s of the first and second year from their inception) in the public Schools. William of Wykeham had begun a new departure by ordering that a special payment should be made to the Fellows who supervised the studies of the younger members of their society. The system of college lecturing was extended in the statutes of Magdalen and Brasenose, and in the sixteenth century it gradually superseded that of lectures by the Regents. Coincident with this change was the growth of gentleman-commoners, for whom Waynflete was the first to make explicit provision in 1479. This meant an influx of well-born and wealthy youths, for whom the semi-ecclesiastical rule of life of the mediaeval student had to be greatly modified. The period of residence necessary before taking the B.A. degree was three years, followed by another four years for the M.A. After this further degrees might be taken in Law, Medicine, and Theology. As students when they matriculated

were, as a rule, mere boys in age, and as throughout their long period of residence the college was their home both for the modern Terms and Vacations, it was natural that they should seek recreation in the theatrical entertainments which were the delight of Tudor Englishmen of every class.

But these entertainments would not have received so much encouragement from the college authorities, or become so important a feature of sixteenth-century academic life, had they continued, as in the mediaeval period, to be merely recreative. The changes in the educational curriculum of the Universities produced by the revival of learning gave the college stage a new use and significance.

There was nothing in the mediaeval scheme of study for an Arts degree to foster an interest in humane letters generally, still less in the special field of the drama. A student following the beaten path of the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium* would learn the elements of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic, with something of Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy, and the course would be completed by the three Philosophies, Physical, Moral, and Metaphysical. His reading would include the grammatical treatises of Priscian and Donatus, the *Topics* of Boethius, some of the books of Euclid, astronomical works by Ptolemy and Joannes de Sacrobosco, Porphyry's *Isagoge* or Introduction to Aristotle, and, above all, the writings of Aristotle himself on Rhetoric, Logic, Ethics, Physics, and Metaphysics in the mutilated and misleading Latin summaries of the Schoolmen. It is not till the fifteenth century is well advanced that portions of Cicero, Ovid, and Virgil are found prescribed as alternatives in an official syllabus of studies.

Doubtless then as now the younger scholars did not confine their reading to books enjoined by authority, and the 'twenty bokes clad in blak or reed' to be found at the bed's head of a clerk of Oxenford, somewhat less serious than Chaucer's pilgrim, may have included even in the fourteenth century selections not only from the three writers named above, but from Lucan, Statius, and Boethius. Among the classical dramatists Terence alone never lost a hold upon the mediaeval world, though the extraordinary belief became current that 'the poet himself or a *recitator* declaimed the text from a *pulpitum*

above the stage, while the actors gesticulated voicelessly below'. Neither the growth of an Italian school of Senecan critics and imitators in the fourteenth century, nor the rediscovery of twelve Plautine comedies in 1427, seems to have wakened at the time any echo in England. The Greek dramatists were, of course, unknown.

But the foundation of Duke Humphrey's library at Oxford (1444), with its store of classical and Italian works, heralded the humanist revival at the two Universities, which entered upon its full course with the Oxford lectures of Grocyn and Linacre, at whose feet sat Colet and More, and with the new developments at Cambridge associated with the names of Bishop Fisher, Erasmus, and Lady Margaret Tudor.

Religious as well as literary in its origin and aims, the Renaissance movement in England was complex, embracing at the same time principles favourable and hostile to the development of theatrical art. Their antagonism in the later sixteenth century forms a remarkable chapter in the history of the University stage. But in the main, and especially in its earlier phases, the movement had among its results the eager study of the dramatists of Rome and, in less measure, of Greece. The interest in them was often scholarly rather than dramatic. Such a work as Udall's *Floures for Latine spekynge* (1534/5), a cento of phrases from three of the comedies of Terence, with their vernacular equivalents, illustrates this. But Tudor England with its inborn passion for acting could never have been content with merely reading the plays of antiquity, even if other countries had not already set them the example. Italy, having rediscovered the true methods of classical representation, had towards the end of the fifteenth century begun to revive Roman plays. Through the influence of Pomponius Laetus, a Professor in the University of Rome, the *Asinaria* of Plautus and the *Hippolytus* of Seneca were performed about 1485 by his pupils. In Florence the *Menaechmi* was produced in 1488 at a school, with a prologue by Politian; and in 1502 it was acted at the Vatican on the occasion of Lucrezia Borgia's departure for Ferrara. In the same year beyond the Alps one of the comedies of Terence was performed at Metz in the Bishop's palace in Carnival time, but excited the

anger of the audience, who could not understand it. About the same time the pupils of Conrad Celtis acted the *Aulularia* and the *Eunuchus* in the Aula of the University of Vienna, and the former play was also produced in Breslau by the pupils of Corvinus. Melanchthon at Wittenberg in 1526 wrote a prologue for a performance by the University students of Seneca's *Thyestes*, and his younger colleague, Paul Eber, supplied one in 1554, when the *Hippolytus* was similarly produced. Melanchthon's scholars also acted the *Hecuba* of Euripides, but in the Latin translation by Erasmus, as somewhat later in the century George Buchanan's pupils at the College of Guienne in Bordeaux performed his similar versions of the *Medea* and the *Alcestis*. The *Plutus* of Aristophanes was produced at Zwickau by George Agricola in 1521 both in Latin and Greek, and another performance of it in the original was given at Zürich in 1531 by adherents of Zwingli.

The enthusiasm of Continental humanists and reformers for the acting of classical plays as a method of educational training soon spread to academic circles in England. The statutes of several colleges prove this beyond doubt. Thus at St. John's, Cambridge, the regulations of 1545 about the lord of misrule are followed by the additional provision that 'ceteras comoedias et tragoedias quae inter Epiphaniam et Quadragesimam aguntur lectores singuli et singuli examinatores accumbent ut aliqua litteraria contentione exerceantur'.[1]

A year later still more detailed injunctions appear in chapter 36 of the statutes of Queens' College, Cambridge:

'Et ne Juventus nostra, exercitata forsan ad alia, pronunciando ac gestu rudis et inurbana maneat, volumus ut Graecae Linguae Professor, et etiam Examinator quotannis inter 20 Decembris diem et Quadragesimae initium in Aula Collegii duas Comoedias sive Tragoedias curent agendas; si ante 20 Decembris diem per Magistrum, aut eo absente per Pro-Praesidem, ad eas privatim exhibendas—vel etiamsi per Magistrum, aut eo absente Pro-Praesidem, et majorem partem Sociorum, ad eas publice agendas—fuerint requisiti: quod si praestiterint, recipiet uterque eorum pro labore suo 6^s 8^d; si vero uterque aut illorum alter huic Officio sibi constituto satisfacere recusaverit, mulctabitur x^s, solvendis, vel publico Aerario, vel alteri qui velit

[1] Mayor, *Early Statutes of St. John's Coll., Cam.*, 139.

hoc suum officium administrare . . . Quod si quisquam Scholarium, (nisi in Sociorum convictu fuerit), designatus ab aliquo horum duorum Lectorum, partem aliquam agendam recusaverit, punietur judicio Praesidis.'

Similar in scope is chapter 24 of the Trinity College Statutes in 1560, though provision is made for five instead of two plays annually:

'Novem domestici lectores quo iuventus maiore cum fructu tempus Natalis Christi ineat bini ac bini singulas comoedias tragoediasve exhibeant, excepto primario lectore quem per se solum unam comoediam aut tragoediam exhibere volumus. Atque hasce omnes comoedias seu tragoedias in aula privatim vel publice, praedictis duodecim diebus, vel paulo post pro arbitrio magistri et octo seniorum, agendas curent. Quod quidem si non praestiterint, pro unaquaque comoedia seu tragoedia omissa, singuli eorum quorum negligentia omissa sit decem solidis mulctentur.'[1]

At Christ Church, Oxford, as has been seen,[2] the pastime during the Christmas lord's rule was from 1554 onwards to include not more than two comedies and two tragedies, 'of the w^{ch} fower playes there shall be a Comedy in Lattin & a Comedy in Greek and a Tragedie in Lattin and a Tragedy in Greek'.[3]

These enactments were intended to regulate an already well-established custom of acting. The plays which the authorities had chiefly in mind were doubtless those which had been performed on the Roman or the Attic stage. It is difficult, however, to say to what extent the Greek tragedies and comedies were revived in the original tongue. The loss of the Christ Church account-books before 1577 prevents any elucidation of the ordinance of 1554, and no other documentary evidence is apparently extant for the performance of plays in Greek at Oxford. The Cambridge *data* are very little fuller. The *Plutus* of Aristophanes was performed at St. John's with the new pronunciation during Christmas, 1536, and at Trinity ten years later at the same season John Dee 'did sett forth a Greek comedy of Aristophanes' play named in Greek Εἰρήνη, in Latin *Pax*'. To the same, or a slightly later, period belongs the

[1] Quoted by Mullinger, *Hist. Univ. of Cambridge*, ii. 627.
[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 7.
[3] Wood MS. C. 7, f. 44.

eo-Hellenicn Ἰεφθάε of John Christopherson, discussed below, but it is impossible to specify the performance of any Attic tragedy in the original. The statement by William Soone[1] in 1575, that if Euripides, Sophocles, and Aristophanes could see the performances of their own plays at Cambridge, 'etiam Athenarum suarum taederet,' may possibly refer only to Latin versions, like the *Ajax Flagellifer* which was to have been represented before Elizabeth in 1564.[2] In the case of some of the entries in college account-books it is doubtful whether they refer to plays of Sophocles and Euripides, original or translated, or to the Senecan tragedies on the same themes. Instances are *Oedipus* and *Hecuba*, acted at Trinity, Cambridge, 1559/60, and *Medea* at Trinity 1560/1, and at Queens' 1563/4. Probably the Senecan plays are meant, and *Troas* acted at Trinity 1551/2 and 1560/1 is almost certainly the Roman dramatist's *Troades*. No mention by name of Senecan representations at Oxford is found till the last decade of the century, though the 'tragedie' in college accounts doubtless included them.

The *Adelphi* of Terence was acted at Queens', Cambridge, in January, 1547/8, at Jesus 1562/3, and at Trinity in the same year, as also the *Phormio*, while the *Eunuchus* followed at Jesus in 1563/4. Plautus appears to have been even more popular. The *Penulus* was acted at Queens' in February, 1549, and *Stichus* in 1554; the *Menaechmi* at Trinity 1551/2, followed by 'a commedye of Plautus' on January 7, 1557,[4] *Mostellaria* 1559/60, *Amphitruo* 1560/1, *Pseudolus* 1562/3, and *Trinummus* and *Bacchides* 1563/4. At Jesus *Curculio* was staged in 1562/3, and on Elizabeth's visit to Cambridge in August, 1564, *Aulularia* was chosen as the first of the plays to be performed before her at King's. In the years following her visit other revivals of Plautine comedies are recorded. At Oxford a performance of *Menaechmi* at Merton took place in January, 1567/8; in the previous February the *Eunuchus* of Terence had been given at the same college.[5]

[1] See further *inf.* pp. 109–10. [2] See *inf.* p. 97.
[3] Moore Smith, *loc. cit.*, 269; other references follow from the same source.
[4] Mere, *loc. cit.*, 198. [5] MS. *Register*, i, f. 349 and ii, f. 3.

But the classical dramatists had no monopoly of the college stages. Continental humanism had produced a rich variety of neo-Latin plays. In France academic drama was specially associated with the College of Navarre in the University of Paris. Ravisius Textor, Professor of Rhetoric in the college, who in 1500 was elected Rector of the University, wrote in Latin for performance by his pupils a number of *Dialogi*, wherein the language and versification were borrowed mainly from Virgil and Ovid (though some are in prose), but whose spirit and structure are mediaeval. These *Dialogi* were first published in 1530, six years after his death, and very soon, as will be seen, influenced the English University stage.

The College of Guienne in Bordeaux had the distinction of producing between 1540 and 1545, with Montaigne as one of the actors, the most notable neo-classic plays of the strictly humanist type written on French soil. These included the *Baptistes* and *Iephthes* of George Buchanan and the *Julius Caesar* of Muretus. In 1536 the Parisian professor Roilletus published three tragedies, which had probably been acted by his pupils, *Philanira*, on the same theme as *Measure for Measure*, and two Biblical plays, *Petrus* and *Aman*.

In the sphere of humanist comedy the most remarkable group of plays was that written by Dutch and German schoolmasters in the earlier sixteenth century, elaborating the story of the Prodigal Son on the lines of Roman Comedy. The *Asotus* and the *Rebelles* of George Macropedius, the *Acolastus* of Willem Gnapheus, and the *Studentes* of Christopher Stymmelius won wide and well-deserved popularity, though more for their realistic pictures of riotous living than for their didactic aims. As they were intended for performance by young scholars, it was natural that they should find their way on to the English University stage. *Acolastus*, of which an English edition with a translation by John Palsgrave had appeared in 1540, was acted at Trinity, Cambridge, in 1560/1, and *Asotus* at the same college in 1565/6. The English Prodigal Son plays, inspired by these models, such as *Misogonus*, Thomas Ingelend's *The Disobedient Child*, which is a version of Textor's *Juvenis*, *Pater*, *Uxor* and the other anonymous

version of which only a fragment remains,[1] were probably of university or school origin, but no more definite statement can be made about them. The identification, however, of a local allusion in *Thersites*, adapted from another of Textor's Dialogues, suggests strongly, when coupled with other references, that it is an Oxford play. Thersites boasts (ll. 154–5):

> The proctoure and his men I made to renne their waies,
> And some wente to hide them in broken heys.

Broken Heys was a piece of waste land between the Castle and the City Walls, the ownership of which was contested by Magdalen parish and the town.[2]

Other local references are to

> Simkyn sydnam somner
> that kylde a catte at comner
> . . . . . .
> Mother bryce of oxforde and greate Gyb of hynxey.

These are found in the curious episode, added by the English adapter, of the boy Telemachus coming to the mother of Thersites to be cured of worms. This coarsely jocular episode is just such as would have been thought suitable at the time in a play acted by young scholars or choir-boys, and the epilogue is evidently addressed to such (ll. 904–5):

> To youre rulers and parentes be you obediente,
> Never transgressinge their lawefull commandemente.

The prayer that follows for the queen, 'lovely Ladie Jane,' and the new-born prince, fixes the date of the performance from which the printed text is taken as October, 1537. But this was probably a revival to celebrate the birth of an heir to the throne, for such lines as 'Woldest thou have a sallet nowe all the herbes are dead?' (l. 37) and 'I wyll geve the somewhat for the gifte of a new yeare' (l. 478) indicate that the play was produced originally in the Christmas holidays.[3]

[1] Printed in Malone Society *Collections*, i. 27–30.

[2] The reference was identified by Mr. F. Madan. On Broken Heys see further Wood, *City of Oxford*, ed. A. Clark (1881), i. 363.

[3] See Pollard, *English Miracle Plays*, fourth edition (1904), 214. I would add the suggestion that it was one of the Magdalen Christmas plays some time between 1530, when Textor's *Dialogi* were published, and 1537.

Though *Thersites* is an adaptation, it is so much enlarged and so thoroughly anglicized in atmosphere as to be virtually an original work. It is therefore satisfactory to have such strong grounds for regarding it as an Oxford play in its vernacular form. The Latin original was probably produced at Queens' College, Cambridge, in 1543, when 'actio dialogi Textoris' is entered in the accounts, and 8*d.* was spent 'pro picto clipeo quo miles generosus vsus est in comoedia'.[1]

Another group of neo-classic plays which found favour with English academic audiences was that dealing with prominent Scriptural figures. *Sapientia Solomonis* was acted at Trinity, Cambridge, in 1559/60. This was probably the play by Sixt Birck of Basle, printed in 1555, either in its original form or in an adaptation.[2] *Heli*, performed at Queens', Cambridge, January 26, 1547/8, was perhaps the play published by the Bavarian schoolmaster Hieronymus Ziegler in 1543; *John babtiste* at Trinity in 1562/3 was probably Buchanan's tragedy, and *Iephthes* in 1566/7 either his Latin play or the one by Christopherson in its Greek or Latin version.

In a different vein was *Philaniva*, doubtless the tragedy by Roilletus, acted at Trinity in 1564/5. Other secular plays were *Piscator* or *Fraus Illusa*,[3] a comedy written by John Hoker, Fellow of Magdalen, Oxford, and college lecturer from 1535 to 1543; *Strylius* by Nicholas Robinson of Queens', Cambridge,

Christmas plays are mentioned in several of the intervening years in the college accounts. The lines addressed to Thersites by his mother:—

> He that forgeue Mary Mawdalene hyr synne
> Make the hyghest of all thy kynne—

would be specially suitable on the lips of a Magdalen scholar.

[1] Moore Smith, *loc. cit.*, 268.

[2] One adaptation is preserved in the British Museum MS. 20061. This MS., which has 'E. R.' both on the binding and the illuminated title-page, was doubtless the 'book' of the play prepared for the Queen's use, when (as the Epilogue shows) it was acted before her and the 'inclita princess Cecilia' of Sweden, wife of the Margrave of Baden, who was a visitor at the English court from September, 1565, to the summer of 1566. Sixt Birck's play combined the episodes of Solomon's prayer for wisdom, his judgement between the two women, and the visits of Hiram's envoys and of the Queen of Sheba, with some humorous incidents of his own invention. The MS. version amplifies considerably the humorous element, especially the part of the clown Marcolphus, and introduces the allegorical figures of Justitia, Pax, and Sapientia. But as the actors of this version were not University men but '| puellorum cohors | Nutrita . . . magnificis sumptibus' of the Queen (Prologue), it probably differs from that performed at Trinity in 1559/60.

[3] Mentioned by Bale, *Scriptores*, i. 712.

afterwards Bishop of Bangor, acted in 1552/3;[1] and a comedy '*decrumena perdita*'[2] exhibited by Matthew Hutton, afterwards Archbishop of York, at Trinity in 1554/5 (perhaps identical with *Crumenaria* acted at the same college in 1565/6).

On the border line between religious and secular plays are the dramas of theological controversy, prominent among which was *Pammachius* by Thomas Kirchmayer (Neogeorgus), published at Wittenberg in 1588, with a dedication to Cranmer and a poetical address to Luther. Pammachius is an imaginary Pope, contemporary with the Emperor Julian, who to escape persecution swears fealty to Satan and assumes the rôle of Antichrist, till his dominion is threatened by the return of Veritas to earth, who enlists in her service the German Theophilus with his 'dogmata' of justification by faith and the like. This Lutheran tract, in dramatic form, was acted at Christ's College, Cambridge, in Lent, 1545. Two of the Fellows, John Crane and Nicholas Grenewall, took part in the performance, which 'cost the college well nigh xx nobles alowed bi the Master and the companie'.[3] Another of the Fellows, however, Cuthbert Scott, who had just taken his B.D. degree, had raised objections to the representation on the ground that the play was 'thorowe out poyson'. Overruled by his colleagues he laid a complaint before the Chancellor of the University, the orthodox Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, and apparently stated that it had been performed by the 'youth' of the college 'contrary to the mynde of the master', Henry Lockwood, and that part of it was 'soo pestiferous as were intolerable'. Gardiner thereupon wrote on March 27 to the Vice-Chancellor, Matthew Parker, Master of Corpus Christi College, inquiring about the truth of these reports. Parker replied on Good Friday that the play had

[1] The Queens' College accounts mention a comedy in this year. The title and the author's name are given in Cooper's *Ath. Camb.*, i. 505. But I have not been able to trace Cooper's authority. No mention of *Strylius* is made by Tanner in his *Bibliotheca*, nor by Wood in *Ath. Oxon.*, in their notices of N. Robinson, nor by W. G. Searle in his *History of Queens' Coll.* (Camb. Antiq. Soc. 1867).

[2] So entered in the accounts. See Moore Smith, *loc. cit.*, 269 and 271.

[3] The letters between Stephen Gardiner and Matthew Parker from which this and the details that follow are taken are printed in Lamb, *op. cit.*, 49-57; also, in modernized spelling, in *Publications of the Parker Society*, vol. xlix, 20-30.

been acted with the consent of the Master and Fellows, and that 'wher ther is interspersed thorough out the tragedie both slanderous cavillations and suspitious sentences therefor as I am credibly informed they used this foresight by the advertisement of the Master and Seniors to omyt all such mattyer wher offense might justly have rysen'. The Chancellor, still dissatisfied, wrote on April 23 a second letter ordering Parker to summon 'the masters and presidentes of the colleges with the Doctors of the university' to assist 'in the tryal of the truth concernyng the said tragedie'.

This correspondence is of exceptional interest, for it brings the University stage for the first time into relation with the Government, and it also gives us our earliest glimpses 'behind the scenes' of a college performance. We hear something of the discussion previous to the choice of a play; of the permission given by the college authorities for its representation; of the manner in which the text was cut down or adapted for the special occasion. For detailed first-hand descriptions by onlookers we have to wait till Elizabeth's visits to the Universities in 1564 and 1566. But college accounts furnish some additional data previous to these visits concerning scenic arrangements, properties, and costumes. The erection of the stage in the hall was usually the most formidable item of expense. Thus at Trinity, Cambridge,[1] in 1548/9, 24*s.* 8½*d.* is entered 'to y^e^ carpēter when the playes were in hand the laste yere' and 7*s.* 5*d.* 'to y^e^ carpēter and his man occupied about the stage v days and ij oth' men on daye'. On November 18, 1551, 18*d.* was paid to Thomas Benton for 'laying up y^e^ stagynge tymbre', at the rate of 6*d.* a day. At Christ's in 1551/2, '12^d^ was paid to the carpenter for removing y^e^ tables in y^e^ haull & setting y^em^ vp again w^th^ y^e^ houses and other things'. At Magdalen, Oxford, in January and February, 1560/1, the expense of setting up and taking down the stage amounted in all to 40*s.* 9*d.* The details are thus set out in the accounts:—

Solut. ouē[2] 9 februarij opanti circa theatrū p vndecim dies dietim xix^d^ . . . . . xvij^s^ v^d^

[1] For this and other extracts that follow from the Senior Bursar's accounts I am indebted to Dr. Aldis Wright.

[2] The name is indistinct and doubtful, but occurs in the accounts about

Solut. westbz circa idē occupat. p tres dies dietim ix^{d} ij^{s} iij^{d}
Solut. crispe occupat. circa idem p tres dies dietim ix^{d} ij^{s} iij^{d}
Solut. wright & cutberd 5 dies dietim xiiij^{d} . . v^{s} x^{d}
Solut. welles et haywood serrantibus varia p theatro p 4 dies dietim xx^{d} . . . . . vi^{s} viij^{d}
Solut. Allot remouenti theatrū . . . . . iv^{d}
Solut. Johañi willowes et hērico heywood . . iv^{s} vi^{d}
26 Januarij serrantibus varia p theatro p 3es dies cū dimidio dietim xx^{d} . . . . . v^{s} x^{d}

The small proportion spent on the removal of the stage is noticeable. In January and February, 1562/3, there was similar expenditure 'pro theatro ad spectacula edēda', when six workmen were paid £1 15*s.* 11*d.*

Lighting also was a large item. At Magdalen in 1541/2 5*s.* o*d.* is set down 'p candelis cōsumptis in Aula tempore actarū comediarū', and in 1562/3 8*s.* o*d.* 'p 2^{obus} duodenis facū ad spectacula pbēda'.[1] At Trinity, Cambridge, in 1547, 4*s.* 6*d.* was spent on 'a Great Rownd Candlestick for the Stage', and 4*s.* 8*d.* on 'iij stone and a halfe of pyche'. Torches, 'lynckes', candles, constantly recur in the accounts among the theatrical expenses. Coals also figure there; thus at Queens', Cambridge, in January, 1547/8, six bushels were used during the performance of two plays.[2]

Considerable sums were spent on costumes. Thus at Trinity £4 15*s.* 4*d.* was paid in 1548/9 'for making garmēts to o^{r} playes', and £4 13*s.* 4*d.* 'for making plaing gere'; 20*d.* was the cost of making 'ij payr of velvet shoos', which is much the same rate as the 12*d.* paid at Christ's College in 1552/3 'for making and soling a pair of velvett shoes' 'owing' since the tragedie. In 1550/1 'Mr Cockrooste', a Fellow of Trinity, received 12*d.*, the cost of 'hyryng a cōplete harnesse', when his play was acted at Christmas. In 1551/2 at Christ's 8*d.* was paid to 'Edmunde tailer for mending the fooles coat'. The sum of 5*s.* 3*d.* given in Lent, 1551, at Exeter College, Oxford, to 'Doyle pingenti ea quibus opus erat

this time. Mr. Macray does not reproduce the details, but gives the total as £2 1*s.* 7*d.* In addition, among the 'solutiones forinsecae', 53*s.* 4*d.* appears 'pro expensis dominorum tempore tragediarum', *op. cit.* ii. 34.

[1] Both items are taken from the MS. accounts. Mr. Macray appears to be mistaken in speaking of 'six dozen torches' being bought, *op. cit.* ii. 35.

[2] Queens' Coll. accounts, quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, v. 278.

agendis comediis' was for scenery or some form of stage property.[1]

The plays were often accompanied by some form of feasting. The Magdalen accounts contain many evidences of this in such entries as 'pro merenda facta post comediam actam, ix^{s} iij^{d}', 'pro bellariis datis sociis cum ageretur comedia, viij^{s}'. Nor was the hospitality confined to members of the University. At Christ's College 32*s.* 3½*d.* was laid out 'towards y^{e} honeste enterteynmente of y^{e} Wershippe' of the Town and the University 'w^{ch} resorted to or colledge to see y^{e} plaies there' in 1552/3. The visits of the lords of Trinity parish and of St. Andrews have been already noted. The relations between academic and civic authorities at Cambridge had evidently not become as embittered as they were later in the century.

And despite the enactments of some pious founders strolling players and musicians were welcomed in college halls. The founder of Peterhouse had decreed in his statutes, *tit.* 41 (1344),

'Ioculatoribus & Histrionibus publice non intendant: ludis theatralibus ludibriorum spectaculis publicis in Ecclesiis, theatro, vel Stadiis . . . nisi recreationis causâ, honestate servata fortassis ad modicum tempus intersint.'

The revised statutes of Balliol in 1507 ordained that a member of the college 'histrionibus et ioculatoribus se non immisceat'.

Yet at King's College, from 1482 onwards, payments are made 'to strolling players and musicians coming to the College from all parts of the Country'.[2] At Magdalen, Oxford, on January 6, 1486/7, 'citharistae et mimi' took part in a 'ludus' in the hall in 1490/1. Singers were entertained from Abingdon, London, and Hereford, and at a later period the Queen's players acted in 1531/2 and 1532/3 and the 'ioculatores Regis' in 1535/6. College authorities in the earlier Tudor days must often have found it an agreeable diversion from their severer duties to 'see the players well bestowed'. The hostility towards the professional actor, which was afterwards to form common ground between the friends and foes of the academic stage, had not yet, under the strangely combined influence of Puritanism and Roman law, taken definite shape.

[1] In Lent, 1458, at the same college, 6*s.* 8*d.* had been laid out 'pro expensis Commoediae publice peragendae'. C. W. Boase, *Reg. Coll. Exon.* i. 38.

[2] G. C. Moore Smith, *loc. cit.*, 267.

CHAPTER II

BIBLICAL PLAYS AT OXFORD

MENTION has been made in the previous chapter of performances of continental Latin plays on Biblical subjects at Cambridge. No record of similar performances at Oxford appears to exist. But whether acted or not, some of these plays were known there, and influenced the work of the first Oxford dramatist whose name has come down to us, Nicholas Grimald, familiar afterwards as a contributor to *Tottel's Miscellany*. Grimald, born in Huntingdonshire in 1519, was on his father's side of Italian descent, and thus had in his blood something of the warm temperament of the south and its natural dramatic instinct. The varied course of his University career gave this instinct special opportunities for development. He first went to Cambridge, where he was a member of Christ's College from 1536/7 till 1539/40, when he proceeded B.A. As Christ's was already one of the chief centres of Cambridge drama, he must have seen plays performed in the college hall, and probably acted himself.

After taking his degree at Cambridge, Grimald, on the advice of Gilbert Smith, Archdeacon of Peterborough, who supplied him with the necessary funds, migrated to Oxford, where he first spent a short time at Brasenose, whose earliest Principal, Matthew Smith, was a relation of the Archdeacon. He had to wait some weeks before his books were forwarded, and to fill up the time he began to write the play, published in 1543 by Johan Gymnicus at Cologne, entitled *Christus Rediuiuus, Comoedia Tragica, sacra & noua.* It is prefaced by a long dedicatory letter to Gilbert Smith, in which, after giving the above account of how the play came to be written, he proceeds to tell how it also came to be acted:

CHRISTVS REDIVIVVS. COMOEDIA

Tragica, sacra & noua.

Authore Nicolao Grimoaldo.

Coloniæ Ioan. Gymnicus excudebat.
Anno M. D. XLIII.

'Postea uerò quàm uersatus in Collegio doctorum, quod ab Aeneo naso nomen inuenit, per mensem unum & item alterum istam pro mea uirili Spartam ornauerā, ac fortè fortuna ita, ut fiebat, arderet pubes domestica theatrum conscendere, quô & suos excitarent animos, & ciuibus imaginem quandam uitae spectandam exhiberent; continuò ex paucis, qui meum cubiculum frequentabant, coepit multis innotescere, quid molirer, quidq́; in manibus haberem. Egit itaq; mecum Matthaeus Smithus Collegij praeses . . . egit Robertus Cauduuellus[1] uir perhonestus, & insigniter doctus; egerunt lectissimi atq; optimae spei adolescenteis, ut meam sibi foeturā, in Scenam producendam concrederem, in eaq́; re, meam illis operam dicarem ac deuouerem. Quoniam autem negare eis tum praeclara petentibus, tum indole sua digna cupientibus, difficile mihi uisum fuit: permisi sanè, ut eorum auspicijs, haec ista Comoedia etiam in eruditissimorum uirorum corona publicitus ageretur.'

This narrative is important for various reasons. It contains apparently the only record of a performance at Brasenose, and shows the College authorities uniting with the younger students in an appeal for permission to act a play. It also indicates that the performance was intended not only for the scholars but for the townsmen. A play on the Resurrection, even though written in Latin, would have an edifying effect on the unlettered as well as the learned.

But as Grimald further relates, his tutor, John Airy,[2] was anxious that the influence of the work should extend still further, and, in urging him to print it, contrasted its subject and aim with those of secular plays:

'Illud peropportunè cecidisse confirmabat quòd in argumentum adsumerem non leuiuscula Epigrammata, non amatorios iocos, non morias, non mimos, non postremorum hominum colloquia, non Atellanam Comoediam, nō Tabernariam, aut si qua sunt Ethnicarum fabularum portenta, quae nihil ad morum conformationem, nihil ad solidam eruditionem, nihil ad diuinae laudis amplificationem adferunt emolumenti.'

This is a valuable summary of many of the contemporary dramatic types, and it would be of interest to know which were

[1] This must, I think, be Richard (not Robert) Caldwell, who in 1542 was Fellow and senior bursar of Brasenose.

[2] Such must apparently be the name Latinized by Grimald as Iohannes Aërius, but, as far as I have been able to ascertain, it does not appear, in any form of spelling, in the University registers.

the 'postremorum hominum colloquia', those, for instance, of Textor, Erasmus, or Heywood, that were frowned upon by Airy. But if he wished to set severe limits upon the subject-matter of drama, he was free from all pedantry upon questions of form and style. It is astonishing to find this Oxford scholar, in his observations to Grimald upon his play, setting forth the distinctive principles of Romantic dramatic art. He commended the intermixture of high and low, grave and gay, and the variation of style according to the speaker and the occasion:

'Bellè uidelicet me temporum ordine ad finem decurrisse: & magna paruis, laeta tristibus, obscura dilucidis, incredibilia probabilibus intexuisse... Etiam nihil ineptum, nihil indecorum, nihil quod aut personae, aut rei, aut tempori, aut loco minùs quadret, inueniri posse arbitrabatur. Nam quis, inquit, Oratoriae facultatis expertus, non rem gestam indicātibus & subitò colloquentibus, tenuem, pressum, & familiarem sermonem: non consolatoribus, laeticiae nūcijs, atq; plaudētibus, tractam, suauem & uenustam dictionem: non gloriosis, exultabundis, & indignantibus acrem, ardentem, & grandiloquam orationē attribuerit?'

He approved of the virtual observance of the unity of place in the play, but simply because it was theatrically convenient: 'Loca item, haud usque eò discriminari censebat: quin unum in proscenium, facilè & citra negocium conduci queant'. On the other hand, he defended the violation of the unity of time, by classical precedent: 'Ac si quis miretur, uel quod plurium dierum historiam atque diuersa tempora, in unam & eandem actionem coëgerim . . . eum intelligere debere, me autorem sequi M. Actium Plautum, cuius praeter alias Capteiuei . . . compluribus interiectis diebus agi fingūtur'.

It would be interesting to know whether Grimald confided to Airy that he had later models than Plautus, and that in his tragi-comic treatment of a Biblical theme he had been influenced by at least one of the continental humanist playwrights, Barptholomaeus Lochiensis, whose *Christus Xylonicus,* first published at Paris in 1529, had been reissued at Antwerp in 1537, and by Johan Gymnicus at Cologne in 1541. Alecto would not have tempted Caiaphas in *Christus Rediuiuus* (IV. v) had she not already tempted Judas in *Christus Xy-*

lonicus. The Roman soldiers who guard the tomb in the Brasenose drama are called Dromo, Dorus, Brumax, and Sangax; Grimald took these names (the last with an 'x' added) from those of minor characters in the continental play. He even makes Caiaphas speak of 'Christus xylonicus' (IV. iii) after the Resurrection, though the phrase, as devised by Barptholomaeus, applies to the Saviour triumphant on the Cross itself.

For the action of *Christus Xylonicus* ends with the burial in the garden tomb, where, in the opening scene of *Christus Rediuiuus*, Mary Magdalen is discovered in deepest lamentation. In vain Joseph of Arimathaea and Nicodemus seek to comfort her. With an echo of classical legend that falls strangely in such a place at such an hour, she cries:

> Heû me quid obsecro, misera, misera,
> Quid agam tandem aliud misera, misera,
> Quam quod furtim erepta sibi querens pignora,
> Philomela & noctu factitat & interdiu?

At last, however, by their entreaties and those of Salome she is induced to depart, on the understanding that she will return at dawn on the third day with spices and ointments for the last funeral rites.

At the beginning of Act II, Caiaphas is seen near the tomb, rejoicing in the death of the revolutionary who—

> Nouas quasdam lêges, nouas ceremonias,
> Decreta noua, ritus nouos, sacra noua,
> Noua & inuisa & inaudita plurima,
> Per uniuersam constituit Rempublicam.

He is soon joined by Annas, with a squad of Roman soldiers dispatched by Pilate to guard the Tomb, lest the Body should be stolen and the report spread that Christ, in fulfilment of His prophecy, had risen from the dead.

The four soldiers supply the comic element in the play. They are cleverly discriminated specimens of the *miles gloriosus*. As soon as they are left alone on watch (II. iii) they begin to outvie one another in boasting. Dromo, played probably by a senior undergraduate, points proudly to his bearded chin as a symbol of the masculine valour which has distinguished him from birth:

In me cum lacte materno iuraueris
Esse imbibitam bellatricem iracundiam.
Et hunc formidarem proiectum uermibus?
Quem uicimus, quem uictum ex orbe fugauimus.

Dorus, evidently acted by a very young scholar, asserts that his stature is no index of his spirit:

Mihi verò quanquam in caelum non prominet
Bicorpor atq; gygantea granditas:
Tamen animum altum, excelsum, generosum, nobilem,
Non uastam & prodigiosam corpulentiam
Iustus rerum aestimator in quoquam exigit.
Nam mutis pecudibus adsimilantur corpora:
Animis aequamur superis immortalibus.

Sangax, with a knowledge of Jewish heroes surprising in a Roman soldier, declares—

Equidem haud uerear cum Sampsone congredi.

Brumax ridicules the possibility of the buried 'praestigiator rising from his tomb, and threatens to put to speedy flight any of his followers who may try to steal him away.

The closing episode of this Act and the earlier ones of Act III must have tested somewhat severely the scenic resources of the Brasenose stage if realistic effects were attempted. Cacodaemon appears fleeing from the Redeemer's presence in Tartarus, and followed by a rejoicing crowd of the delivered *manes piorum*. They may have been carried up to the roof of the stage, for the devil cries:

Oh, iam splendet nouis aër fulgoribus,
Oh, uolitant agminatim ad caelum caelites.

Thereafter follow earthquake and lightning, which so terrify the soldiers that they take to their heels, but fall down in a mysterious stupor.

'*Dro.* Quid hoc? Heî nullus sum. *Do.* Perij. *Sang.* Interij. *Bru.* Occidi.'

As they lie prone, Christ comes forth from the tomb bidding Death cast away his spear, and acknowledge his Conqueror.

The stage is then left empty, save for the unconscious soldiers, till Mary Magdalen returns with Cleophis[1] and a

[1] Grimald gives this name to Mary the wife of Cleophas (St. John xix. 25).

company of Galilean women. The detailed reminiscences that they interchange of Christ's miracles make a pause in the action, before their amazing discovery that the tomb is open and empty. The incidents that follow to the close of the Act—the visit of John and Peter to the sepulchre, the revelation of Himself by Christ to Mary Magdalene, and afterwards to the other women—follow closely the narratives of St. John and St. Matthew.

In glaring contrast to these solemn episodes is the opening scene of Act IV, where the soldiers shake off their stupor. Here Grimald gives free rein to his comic invention. Brumax is the first to awake. He arouses Sangax, and together they get the trembling Dorus on his feet. But Dromo still lies prostrate and apparently lifeless. Thrice Brumax calls him in vain, but when Sangax and Dorus alternately shout his name into his ear, he at length begins to draw breath. His companions slowly raise him, and then Brumax, who appears to be the sergeant of this awkward squad, marches them off to give news of what has happened to the high priest.

Caiaphas at once realizes that if the report of the Resurrection gets abroad it means the downfall of his power. In his plans for preventing this he finds an ally in Cacodaemon, who in a scene (IV. iv) that must be supposed to be laid in the lower regions addresses the great infernal peers with something of a Miltonic dignity and bids them inspire men with a disbelief in the miracle. He also sends forth Alecto to Caiaphas to counsel him to bribe the soldiers to pervert the truth. This proves an easy task, for Brumax and his comrades no sooner catch a glimpse of the gold that Caiaphas dangles before them than they forswear themselves roundly, asseverating in turn that the body was stolen while they slept. The high priest is jubilant, but the plot fails, and Act V, which is dramatically of least interest, shows the disciples converted from their incredulity, and even Thomas convinced by the appearance of the risen Lord, who announces the approaching descent of the Holy Spirit.

It was probably these solemn episodes that chiefly commended the piece to the Brasenose authorities, but in the skilful disposition of his materials, and in his introduction of

a species of comic relief particularly suitable to youthful actors, Grimald proved that his dramatic art had other than merely edifying aims.

The publication of *Christus Rediuiuus* in Cologne was probably due to the friendly offices of John Bale, who had fled to Germany in 1540. In any case, after his return to England in 1547, Bale was on terms of close intimacy with Grimald, and it was from the latter's own library at Oxford that he gathered the information for the long list of his works that he has left us.[1] These include eight plays, of which only two have survived. The four lost Latin plays were apparently on scriptural or allegorical subjects. They include *Christus Nascens*, a Nativity play, called by Bale a comedy; *Protomartyr*, a tragedy, probably on the subject of St. Stephen; *Fama*, called in the *Index* both a tragedy and a tragi-comedy, and in the *Catalogus* a comedy; and *Athanasius siue infamia*, a comedy.

But of greater interest, both from their subject-matter and from the fact that they were written in English, are the two other lost plays. One was a comedy on an unusual theme, *De puerorum in musicis institutione*; the other, *Troilus*, also a comedy, was based on Chaucer's poem.[2] It is a tribute to the influence of Chaucer's genius that, at a time when the impulse of academic drama was strongly towards Latin plays, he should have furnished the material for two of the earliest Oxford English plays, Grimald's *Troilus* and Richard Edwardes's *Palamon and Arcyte* in 1564. One wonders, however, what John Airy, who had commended *Christus Rediuiuus* for not containing 'amatorios iocos', can have thought of such a subject as the Chaucerian tale. But before these plays were written, whatever their exact dates may be,[3] Grimald's brief

[1] See Bale's autograph note-book in the Bodleian (*Cod. Seld. supra* 64), edited by R. L. Poole and Mary Bateson under the title *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* (1902). The details of Grimald's writings there given, pp. 301–4, are considerably fuller than in Bale's *Catalogus* of 1557–9, and the source of the information is in nearly every case specified as 'ex suo museo'. Bale indicates clearly in the *Index* which of Grimald's works are plays, and whether they are Latin or English.

[2] *De puerorum &c.* is mentioned in the *Index* only; *Troilus* appears in the *Catalogus* as 'ex Chaucero, comoedia', but it is in the *Index* that it is placed amongst the works that Grimald 'scripsit Anglice'.

[3] Bale quotes the opening words of *Fama* as 'Illustrissimo atque optimo

connexion with Brasenose had ended. He had become a Fellow of Merton, whence the dedicatory letter of *Christus Rediuiuus* is dated, in 1542, and as Merton was a prominent centre at this period of Oxford acting, some of the lost plays, Latin and English, may have been written for performance there. Others were probably acted at Christ Church, where he was appointed lecturer in 1547.

Among the latter group is *Archipropheta*, based on the career of John the Baptist. The play is preserved in two forms. It was published at Cologne by Martin Gymnicus in 1548, and it is also extant in a single manuscript[1] (B.M. Royal MSS. 12 A, XLVI). Both the MS. and the printed volume contain a dedicatory letter to Dr. Richard Cox, the first Dean of Christ Church. Though the substance of the letter is identical in both forms, there are several important variants. The printed version is dated 'Ex Aede Christi, Anno D. 1547'. The MS. version is undated and ends 'E Collegio Exoniensi. Tuus ex animo Nicholaus Grimoaldus,' though otherwise Grimald is not known to have been connected with Exeter College. In the body of the letter, where the printed volume has a reference to 'Aedis dicatae Christo nuper apud nos constituendae' the MS. has 'Regij nuper apud nos Collegij constituendi'. The printed version speaks of Cox being in high favour 'apud religiosiss. sapientissimūq; Regem', while the corresponding epithets in the MS. are 'optimū illustrissimūq;'. The inference from these variants is that the MS. was written between the reconstitution of the College in November 1546, when its new name had not yet become familiar, and the death of Henry VIII

principi', which are evidently the beginning of the Dedication. Exactly the same epithets are applied, in the dedication of the MS. version of *Archipropheta*, to Henry VIII, and it is therefore probable that *Fama* is to be dated before 1547. If *Athanasius siue infamia*, as the sub-title suggests, was a pendent to *Fama*, the two plays were probably written about the same time, and this may be conjectured also of *Christus Rediuiuus* and *Christus Nascens*.

[1] The MS., from the circumstances stated on p. 34, is presumably autograph. But Grimald's signature on a receipt to the Sub-dean of Christ Church, dated October 3, 1550, for his stipend as college lecturer and an additional special allowance (Tanner MSS. 106, f. 43), differs from the script of his letter of 4° Idus Maij, 1549 to Sir W. Cecil concerning students at Oxford (Lansdowne MSS. 2, ff. 77–8), and in both of these the script differs from that of the Royal MS. He may, however, as was not unusual, have used different scripts for different purposes.

on January 28, 1547. The printed copy gives a version slightly revised, after the accession of the youthful Edward VI, when Grimald had been appointed a Lecturer at Christ Church.

A collation of the two versions of the tragedy itself confirms this. The MS. copy contains a number of lines, including a short scene at the beginning of Act III, which do not appear in print. There are also an extraordinary number of minor verbal variants running throughout the play. The MS. doubtless represents the draft sent to Cox when Grimald was applying for an appointment on the new foundation; the Cologne volume gives the text as afterwards revised for publication.

Grimald states that while other applicants had besieged Cox with letters, verses, and speeches, he had offered the history of John the Baptist handled in a fashion 'qui tam doctiores delectare in recognoscendo q̃ prodesse rudioribus ad intelligendum poterit', and set forth with the poetic realism whereby—

'personae tãquam rediuiuae, ac spirantes introducuntur ... locus, tempus, dicta, facta illustrantur ... omne negotium ita sub aspectum auditumq̃ subijcitur, ut non tantùm dici aut commemorari, sed fieri iã ac geri uideatur.'

The words suggest that Grimald intended the play to be acted, and he makes this clearer when he expresses the wish that every 'lector' and 'spectator' should be as much edified by reading or seeing it, as he had been by writing it. Though the 'recens in lucem edita' on the title-page of the printed tragedy probably refers merely to its composition, it is very unlikely that at Christ Church, which soon became the chief centre of Oxford acting, there should have been no performance of a work so rich in human interest and in spectacular effects.

How far is *Archipropheta* original? As in the case of *Christus Rediuiuus*, Grimald gives no hint of a source, but it can scarcely be merely a coincidence that in 1546 Martin Gymnicus had published a tragedy on the same subject, *Ectrachelisitis, siue Iohannes Decollatus* by Jacob Schoepper of Dortmund. In the use of comic metres for a tragic subject, in the introduction of Herod's 'Morio' or Fool into the action, in the romantic treatment of the passion of Herod and Herodias, and in the elaboration of the banqueting scene,

Schoepper's play anticipates Grimald's, and probably was its model. But there is no verbal imitation, and Grimald's lyrical gifts lend his play a charm and poignancy that are all its own. Moreover, the large comic element in the play is entirely original. Schoepper's Morio, who appears only in Act II. iv, and Act III. *ii* and iii, cuts a few conventional capers, but his main function—which is far from appropriate—is to tell Herodias how the Baptist had denounced Herod for his incestuous marriage. In *Archipropheta*, with his fellow servants, a Syrian slave and maid, he forms a true foil to the regal and tragic figures.

The lyric note is struck from the outset, for after a prologue by Jehovah, the Baptist is introduced in Scene ii, warning his disciples to repent, and bidding them chant the litany,

> Sis tu benignus ac bonus
> Nobis, Pater, precantibus,

which they repeat at intervals in a refrain.

As they chant they march along the stage, for John cries:

> Iam iter emensi turres Herodis arduas
> Prope cernimus, iam ostentare aedificia sua
> Vrbs incipit.

At the beginning of Act II, two representative Pharisees, Philautus and Typhlus, appear before the palace, discoursing of the Baptist's arrival and the danger it threatens to their sect. They resolve to give Herod warning, and knocking loudly at the gates, are answered by the fool Gelasimus, who mockingly compares the constant movement of their lips in prayer to the gibbering of an ape. They refuse to cross the threshold, as their prayers are not finished, and Herod has therefore to come forth to them—probably because the dramatist wished to avoid the necessity for a back-stage scene. Having heard their tale, he sends forth messengers to bring John before him, and goes within again to his wife, upon whose charms the Syrian slave dilates in glowing phrases (II. iii):

> Cui formae fulgor ac decu' est eiusmodi, ut
> Videntur esse diuinum naturae opus.
> In oculis ipse amor locum elegit sibi,
> Petis, proteruis, claris, ludibundulis,

Ebori' instar candidi dentes. Labellula
Suffusa natiuo quodam uelut minio,
Nasus elegans uenusto libratur spatio,
Eöae pulchra par est aurorae coma.
Genas formosas grata tingit purpura,
Serena frons & tanquam stella, lucida est.

His countrywoman celebrates in a similarly lyric strain the voluptuous splendour and joy of Herodias's daily life:

Amoenis confabulationibus,
Collusionibus, ambulatiunculis,
Iocis, osculis, risuq́; tempus fallitur,
Tum coena sumptuosa cantionibus
Sequitur condita laetis, quam excipiunt choreae,
Tali, alea, tesserae, ac potatiunculae.

The words might have been written of the revellings of Antony and Cleopatra, and when Herod and Herodias appear together in the next scene they anticipate in the amorous ecstacy of their utterances the Egyptian queen and her paramour in the most glowing of Shakespearian scenes:

Her. Quēadmodū agitur deliciolū meū?
Herodias. Hercule,
Si laetus es tu, ego laeta, liliolum meū.
Her. Quis, ô quis talem non amet faciem lubens?
Quis non exosculetur hanc lubentius?
Da, da roganti basium mihi, cor meum.
Herodias. Sic, sic, suauissimum caput. Sanè nihil
Mutuum ad amorem iam posse adijci puto.
Regit mens una nostra amborum corpora.
Idem est uelle, est idem nolle, ijdem ambo sumus.

An audience listening to the impassioned dialogue of Herod and his unlawful wife would be quick to realize that whoever should seek to thrust himself between them would be challenging fate. This is what the Baptist proceeds to do. On his arrival at the palace (II. viii and x) he is received graciously, in spite of the machinations of the Pharisees, by Herod and his consort, who are attracted by his eloquence. But he tells the King that he has a message for him of the utmost importance, and the unsuspecting ruler, declaring that he will listen gladly, takes him within. The message, which is thus delivered behind the scenes—in striking contrast with the indictment of Herod for incest before a crowd of his subjects

in Schoepper's play—is that he must put away his brother Philip's wife.

From this moment Herod is torn by the conflict of conscience and love, while Herodias devotes all her powers to retaining her threatened ascendancy over the King. In Act III. vii, before the Baptist's face she maintains that theirs is no clandestine amour, but a genuine union of hearts and hands:

> Furtiuus haud amor noster sed coniugium
> Verum est, Iohannes quodcunq; garriat.
> Palàm dextras coniunximu', idq; nemine
> Redarguente praeter istum Barbarum.

John sternly bids the monarch prefer the love of God to the love of woman, and not sacrifice Heaven for this world. But in words of burning indignation Herodias beseeches Herod not to fling her back into hateful servitude with Philip; death, she cries, at the King's hands would be infinitely preferable. And then tears choke her utterance:

> O mi uir, mi uir optime,
> Profari plura non queo
> Prae lachrymis fluentibus,
> O mi uir, mi uir optime.

Herod is conquered by 'women's weapons, water-drops'; he proclaims his eternal fidelity to Herodias, and orders John to be imprisoned.

Grimald follows Josephus (*Ant.* XV. viii) in placing his captivity at the fortress of Macherus (III. ix), which must have been represented on the stage, for the disciples appear outside the prison, while he is at prayer, and tell him that a great multitude is following the Nazarene. He sends two of them to inquire whether He is the Saviour, and when they return with news of His wonderful works, he cries (IV. iii):

> Nostrum presagium
> Concluditur iam: Euangelion at illius
> Fusum per orbem in honore semper habebitur.
> Regem inter & preconem, lucernam inter &
> Solem, famulum & herum discrimen cernite.

Even with her foe in prison, the Queen does not feel secure, and she turns to her purposes the charms of her daughter,

Tryphera,[1] as well as her own. Herod's birthday is to be celebrated by a feast, at which Tryphera is to dance before the ruler and his guests. In one of the most original scenes in the play (IV. ii) Herodias helps to array her daughter for the performance. Like Marlowe's Barabas, she fingers the gems before her with ecstasy, as she singles out one after another to deck the figure of the girl: a bracelet is to encircle her left arm, a pendant to blaze on her breast; here a pearl is to glisten, there a jasper in a silver setting, a beryl, an emerald, and a loadstone, with its magnetic quality, are to add their charms, and a pearl necklace is to encircle her neck.

The servants of Herod are in attendance during this scene, and the fool Gelasimus arrays himself in Tryphera's tiara. Herodias turns upon him and gives him a box on the ear, with the exclamation, 'Do you not know me?' With bitter truth the Fool answers, 'I know you better than I wish; you are the wife of Philip.' 'Whose wife am I?' persists Herodias. 'Herod's', is the equivocal retort. 'But which Herod's?' 'Come, I will tell you in your ear: You are now Antipas's wife, who were formerly Philip's.' And Gelasimus takes to his heels amidst a shower of curses. Then Herodias turns again to her daughter, and sending for a minstrel, gives her an elaborate dancing lesson.

> Varios mecum, certosq́; absoluito numeros
> Filiola, & hinc atq; hinc procurrito gyros.
> Leuibus sic saepè pulsato pedibus solum,
> Celeres saepè hoc suspende plantas ordine,
> Semper agilis recto te corpore moueas.
> Da nunc, amâbo, industriae specimen tuae.
> Iam circuitus age spatiosos, collige
> Iam angustū te in locum, iam eodem pergito
> Incessu, iam uarijs ambito flexibus.

The spectacle of one member of Christ Church giving another tuition in this art must have been a piquant episode in the play.

Before the feast Herodias makes one last attempt to induce John to abandon his opposition to her. She talks to him

[1] The name has apparently been copied by Grimald from *τρυφερός* = voluptuous. In Schoepper's play she is Salome, but Grimald had already used this name for one of the women in *Christus Rediuiuus*.

through his prison window (IV. v), and promises that he shall be honoured throughout the Court if he will change his views. But the Baptist turns a deaf ear, and she leaves him with grim threats.

At the feast her opportunity comes. The whole management of this, the crowning scene of the play (IV. xii), deserves careful notice, for Grimald evidently had in mind throughout the scenic arrangements of the Tudor college stage at this period. Herodias and Herod appear in front, prepared to welcome their noble guests. Meanwhile, inside the palace, the Idumaean populace is being feasted, and the sound of their revelry is heard without:

> Vt omnis iam sonet
> Iuuenibusq́; senibusq́; simul plaudentibus.
> Hilares audin' sonos?

The royal pair go in to greet them, while the servants lay a magnificent banquet for the expected guests of high estate. As soon as these are announced, and have been welcomed, Herodias proposes that they, too, should gaze at the feasting throng within:

> Vultisne introspicere? Vulgus promiscuum
> Quam hilariter appositis uescuntur ferculis!

The nobles, assenting, greet the crowd with cries of 'Eia, eia, plaudite, plaudite', and they respond with a jubilant all-hail to the King,[1] who then bids his own fellow banqueters take their places in a corner of the stage:

> Strepitu dum turbae personant intus atria,
> Atq́; uario miscentur tecta murmure:
> Nos in hoc quasi recessu genio indulgebimus,
> Laetiq́; laeta conuiuia curabimus.

It is a truly 'lyric feast' ushered in by a Sapphic ode, and accompanied by a Bacchic hymn in praise of wine, and the

[1] It is not clear whether the feasting crowd is merely supposed to be visible to the King and nobles on the stage, or whether, as at a later date was the case in the representation of Gager's plays, doors were unfolded or a 'traverse' drawn, exhibiting the company within to the audience. Probably the former is the correct view, and the episode is an ingenious attempt to give plausibility to Herod's entertainment of his own guests on the stage in front of the palace instead of within.

music of lyre and trumpet. The guests themselves break into a jubilant drinking-chorus, with the refrain,

Dum cadus egregius depromit nobile nectar.

The climax comes when Tryphera enters and takes the lead in a dance, which so delights the King that he calls for an encore. While this is being given, he cries in ecstasy:

Papè ore ab egregio quantum decus enitet!
Quam grata uirtus exit uenusto è corpore!
Quot haec dedit motus! Ità mouit spiritus,
Vti uix apud me sim prae immēsa laeticia,

and swears to grant her what she will, though it be half his kingdom.

There is an effective pause while the retainers bring in the dessert to the accompaniment of another song. Then, prompted by her mother, she asks for the Baptist's head in a dish, and Herod at once assents, crying at the same time to his guests:

Edite, bibite, ridete, plectra tangite.

Music again fills the pause till the prophet's head is brought in, and handed by the girl to her mother, who receives it joyfully, and seeks to calm the agitation of the horrified guests:

Quid obstupescitis?
Non periurus maritus esse uult meus,
Oditq̀; uel cane peiùs & angue perfidos.

In stern contrast to the revelry and tumult of this scene is heard, at the beginning of Act V, the solitary voice of Jehovah declaring that all is well with John though it seem not so to men. There is a final glimpse of Herodias stifling remorse with the defiant cry,

Quid deinde? Oderint me herclè, dū metuāt modò.
Regina si maneo, mea quid interest?

of Herod, now conscience-striken, granting John's disciples leave to bury his body; and of the mournful funeral procession, chanting the elegiac refrain,

O ploranda nimis tempora, tempora.
O deflenda nimis funera, funera.

In the handling of his tragic theme Grimald has shown how it lends itself to romantic treatment without the introduction

of episodes, as false to psychological as to historical truth, that have appealed to a perverted section of modern taste. His *Archipropheta* is as far removed from the erotic degeneracy of the *Salome* of Wilde and Strauss, as it is from the solemn austerity of George Buchanan's *Baptistes*. The young Bordeaux scholars who performed the Scottish humanist's neo-Senecan play had certainly less abundant opportunities for the display of their acting talents than Grimald's Oxford pupils who appeared in *Archipropheta*. But Buchanan was not primarily concerned with stage effects, or with the realistic representation of Scriptural figures and episodes. He did not aim, like Grimald, at giving new life to the past, but at making the ancient story the vehicle of his views on contemporary affairs. When examined by the Inquisition at Lisbon in 1549, he stated categorically,[1] 'Itaque ... meam sentētiam de anglis explicavi, in ea tragoedia quae est de Jo. Baptista, in qua quātum materiae similitudo patiebatur mortem et accusationem thomae mori representavi, et speciem tirannidis illius temporis ob oculos posui.' As the Baptist represents More, Herod must stand for Henry VIII, and his queen for Anne Boleyn. The saving clause, 'quātum materiae similitudo patiebatur,' must be borne in mind, and we should not look for historical portraits, but the tragedy contains as clear an exposition of his political philosophy as his *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, written many years later. The Pharisees, Malchus and Gamaliel, are merely the mouthpieces of antagonistic political opinions, and Herodias does not seek, as in *Archipropheta*, to sway her vacillating husband by a feminine appeal to his emotions, but by arguments on the nature of kingship and its powers. Herod's banquet and Salome's dancing are not represented on the stage; the girl gives a display not of siren charms, but of verbal dialectic in defence of arbitrary rule. The Baptist himself speaks the author's deepest convictions on the claims of sovereignty. He asserts that it is always subordinate to the will of God, and that if it conflicts with this, it has no title to obedience.

It was its political teaching that did most to give *Baptistes*

[1] G. Henriques, *George Buchanan and the Lisbon Inquisition* (1906), 28.

its enduring influence for 100 years. Buchanan himself, when dedicating the first printed edition to King James in 1576, laid stress on the fact 'quod tyrannorum cruciatus, & cum florere maximè videntur, miserias dilucidè exponat'. In January, 1642/3, a Puritan verse-writer translated it, and under the title of 'Tyrannical-Government Anatomized', or a discourse concerning Evil-Counsellors, being the Life and Death of John the Baptist, dedicated it ironically to Charles I. Some have, without sufficient justification, attributed the translation to Milton, who in his *Defensio secunda* (1654) mentions 'Buchananus noster' among the poets whom he knows to be 'tyrannis inimicissimos'. But Milton was probably thinking here of *De Jure Regni*, which on July 21, 1683, Oxford Convocation, after the failure of the Rye House Plot, solemnly condemned to be burnt publicly with other 'pernicious books' in the court of the Schools. The Cavalier University might with equal fitness, from its own point of view, have committed *Baptistes* to the flames. But the day had already passed when humanist plays were of account in political or religious controversy. And thus it has come about that, to the modern student of the drama, *Baptistes*, in spite of its admirable Latinity and its lofty idealism, is of less interest than *Archipropheta*, with its frankly romantic handling of its tragic theme, and its remarkably dexterous adaptation of it to the conditions of the college stage. Had all Grimald's plays, Latin and English, survived, there can be little doubt that he would have had a considerably higher place as a dramatist than his contributions to *Tottel's Miscellany* have given him as a lyrist. Even as it is, he stands out as the first Oxford playwright of mark whom we are able to identify, and whose extant work for the Brasenose and Christ Church actors of the earlier sixteenth century still retains more than a merely historical interest.

CHAPTER III

BIBLICAL PLAYS AT CAMBRIDGE

A YEAR or two before Grimald wrote *Archipropheta* a Cambridge dramatist had written a play which challenges comparison with Buchanan's other scriptural tragedy. Ἰεφθάε, by John Christopherson, preserved in a unique manuscript in Trinity College library, is of peculiar interest as the only English academic play in Greek known to have survived.

Throughout his career Christopherson combined in a remarkable degree the strongest humanist enthusiasm with strict Roman Catholic orthodoxy. Born at Ulverston he entered at Pembroke Hall and afterwards at St. John's, graduating B.A. in 1540/1 and M.A. in 1543. He was a Fellow successively of Pembroke Hall, St. John's, and Trinity, where he was one of the original members of the foundation.

During the reign of Edward VI he retired to the Continent, spending part of the time in Italy, and part at Louvain, a haven for English Roman Catholic refugees, which was later to shelter John Heywood. From Louvain he dedicated to Trinity College, in February 1553, his translation of four books which he had discovered in the library of St. Mark's in Venice, when searching for 'peregrinos libros & monumenta veterum scriptorum, quae nondum in lucem prodierant'. Later in the year, on Mary's accession, he returned to England, and was appointed Master of Trinity in place of Dr. William Bill.

After the suppression of Wyatt's insurrection, in 1554, he published an *Exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion.* It is a vigorous piece of writing, in which he first deals with the general causes of rebellion, and then discusses the pretexts for Wyatt's rising. He defends wholeheartedly Mary's marriage with Philip of Spain, and enters into an elaborate *apologia* for the doctrines and ritual of the ancient Church as contrasted with the Lutheran heresy.

His classical studies and writings had not impaired his command of racy English, and passages in the work suggest that, had he pleased, he could have written effective dramatic dialogue in the vernacular. Thus he represents Lutheran children as making 'a mery mockinge stocke' of their parents:

'My father is an old doting foole, and will fast upon the fryday, and my mother goeth alwayes mumblinge on her beades. But you shall se me of another sorte, I warrant you. For I will never folowe no such superstitiouse folye, nor walke in the Papisticall pathes of my parentes.'

And it is after this fashion that the new sectaries are described as addressing any priest they may chance to meet:

'Nowe syr John where fynde you your Masse in scripture, or who gave you aucthoritie to make god? . . . But nowe I warrant you must you turne your tippet, and laye away your olde mumpsimus, and shutte up your portesse, and your Masse boke to, and putte awaye cleane your purgatory Masses. You must nowe old foole go to schole agayne, and learne a newe lesson.'

But of most importance, from the point of view of stage history, is a passage in which Christopherson emphasizes the part played by singers and actors in the propagation of Protestant doctrines:

'At which tyme also y^e^ devil, for y^e^ better furtheraũce of heresy, piked out two sorts of people, that shuld in tavernes and innes, at commen tables, and in open streets set forward his purpose, as wel as false preachers dyd in the pulpet: that is to say, minstrels and players of enterludes.

The one to singe pestilente and abhominable songes, and the other to set forth openly before mens eyes the wicked blasphemye, that they had cõtrived for the defacing of all rites, ceremonies, and all the whole order, used in the administration of the b[le]ssed Sacramentes.'

Thus, whether or not Christopherson, like some later University playwrights, was an enemy of the popular stage altogether, he was bitterly opposed to the use made of it for propagandist purposes by Bale and other dramatists of Lutheran views. His pamphlet may well have influenced the Privy Council in its drastic action against performers of heretical plays throughout Mary's reign. It doubtless hastened

his ecclesiastical promotion from the deanery of Norwich to the bishopric of Chichester. But soon after Elizabeth's accession he was arrested in consequence of a sermon that he had preached at Paul's Cross, and was thrown into prison, where he speedily died.

His militant Roman Catholicism scarcely prepares us for the evangelical spirit that breathes through the Latin dedicatory letter prefixed to the manuscript copy of Ἰεφθάε,[1] and addressed to 'D[omino] Parro Comiti Essexiae'. This patron was William Parr, brother of Catherine Parr, who was created Earl of Essex on December 23, 1543, and after Edward VI's accession became Marquis of Northampton. Christopherson declares that he had always sought to combine the study of philosophy with that of Scripture, but that at the Earl's earnest admonition he had concentrated his attention solely on the latter subject:

'Vtrunq; igitur studij genus sic temperaui, vt nec in Philosophia imperitus viderer, quod quidē nōnullam inscitiam indicaret, nec in Verbo Dei negligens et dissolutus, quod permagnam argueret impietatem. Tua ergo prudentia, cū videret me incitatius ad humanitatis studia rapi: pie et salubriter, admonuit, vt illis depositis, viuos Scripturae fontes degustarem

[1] Thomas Tanner, in his account of Christopherson in *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, 179 (1748) states: 'scripsit *Tragoediam Jephthe ex xi. cap. Judicum*, primo Graece, deinde Latine. Pr[incipium] ded[icationis] Lat[inae] regi Henr. viii. "Etsi mansuetiores musae in quibus". Pr. tragoed. "Non omnia omnibus satore".' This is the sole source of our knowledge that Christopherson wrote a Latin as well as a Greek version of his tragedy, for the Latin MS. has disappeared. Tanner must, however, have seen it, for the dedication to Henry VIII, of which he quotes the opening words, is not prefixed to the extant Greek text, and must therefore have preceded the Latin version. 'Non omnia omnibus satore' corresponds exactly with the beginning of the Greek play, so that the Latin version would appear to have been a close translation. Perhaps it was made to facilitate the acting of the tragedy. In any case, it is a matter both for surprise and thankfulness that it is the Greek original and not the Latin version that has survived.

Thomas Warton, in his *History of English Poetry*, ii (1778), reproduced without acknowledgement, the substance of Tanner's statement, and added that the play was written 'about 1546' and 'was most probably composed as a Christmas-play'. In *The Retrospective Review*, xii. 9 (1825) there is the still more explicit assertion that 'it was among the shows exhibited at Christmas'. This is merely conjecture. There is no evidence indicating at what season the play was performed (if it was acted at all), and it should be remembered that the regulation about acting tragedies and comedies at Trinity at Christmas is not found in the earlier statutes but in those of 1560 (cf. *sup.* p. 17). On the date of the play see *inf.* p. 47.

indeq; ea promerem quae veram viuendi viam edocerent, omnēq; superstitionis fucum prorsus repellerent.'

But as he had devoted himself assiduously to the study of Greek, he determined, in order to practise that language and at the same time to deepen his scriptural knowledge, to put a Biblical subject into Greek dress:

'Atq; cū ab ipsa studiorum meorum ingressione permultū dedicatus eram Graecis literis, operąe precium esse statui aliquod argumentū ex Sacrosancta Scriptura petitum eisdem literis aliquādo diffusius explicare, quò tum in isto studio attentius versarer, tū graecā linguam assidue (sicuti soleo) hoc modo exercerem.'

In undertaking this task he found prose a far less fitting instrument than verse, and especially the forms of verse used by the Greek writers of tragedy:

'Atq; si soluta oratione istud quod mihi proposueram tractare coepissem, laboris parum, vtilitatis minus, cōmēdationis (de qua nō multū laboro) nihil omnino mereretur. Idcirco hoc quicquid est negocij, totū astrinxi numeris, vt momenti & virium plus haberet oratio. Nam cū res grauis plenius fundatur (quod in carmine cōmodissime fit) habet nescio quo pacto maiorem amplitudinē et quasi magnificentiam. Neq; id in versibus cuiusq; modi vsuuenit sed in Tragicis potissimū, qui ipsa oratione ac stylo caetera dicendi genera facile superant.'

Among the 'historiae' of the Old Testament none seemed to him so suited to this purpose as that of Jephthah, with the manifold moral and religious lessons that it conveys:

'Nā si quis aliqua afficiatur iniuria, exemplo Iephte discat eam ferre aequo animo. Si Patria in discrimen veniat, ei libenter opitulari docebit Iephte. Si vota quisq; statuat facere hinc specimen capiat ne temere se obstringat Deo. Si liberi parentibus obsequi recusent, proponant sibi filiā Iephte ad imitandū, quae patris verbo morē gerens mortem alacri animo oppetijt. Si cum hostibus pugnare aggrediamur, nō tantū viribus, quantū Deo (Sic nāq; fecit Iephte) aliquando debemus confidere. Et licet arma, licet machinae, licet apparatus plurimū in dimicando valeant (sunt enim valde necessaria) tamen est Deus solus qui dat victoriam. Ab eo igitur cum Iephte antēq; preliū ineatur, magnopere petendum est, vt hostes profliget, Patriam liberet, hominū vitae consulat.'

The English nation, he continues, is fortunate in having

a king who follows Jephthah's example in appealing for victory to the God of battles:

'Hoc Inuictissimus Rex noster in omni expeditione bellica perpetuò factitauit. Nā nō ipse solum preces ad Deū sedulo fudit, sed omnibus suis vt idē diligenter praestarent, mādauit. Quo facile fiebat, vt celebres semper de hostibus agitaret triumphos.'

This allusion to the campaigns of Henry VIII is expanded as follows in some lines that follow the dedicatory epistle, entitled 'Carmina quaedā in Tragoediā Iephte inq; exempla vitae quae inde sumi possunt':

Hoc modo Inuictissimus
Rex noster edomat Scotos foedifragos.
Sic insolentes comprimit Gallos manu
Dei potentis. Non virorū robore
Fretus gerit bella grauia vt Sennacherib,
Sed cū Ezechia constanter inuocat Deū.
In hoc solo firmā triumphi spem locat.
Munitur Anglia brachio isto fortiter.
Fugiat Scotus, Gallusq; fugiat ocyus.
Henricus Octauus Deo pugnat Duce.

The composition of the play is fixed by these references to the period when Henry was at war simultaneously with France and Scotland in the last years of his reign. Though the exact date cannot be determined, it was probably about 1544, when Henry in person captured Boulogne, with the Earl of Essex, Christopherson's patron, as his chief captain of men-at-arms, and when the Earl of Hertford burned Leith and Edinburgh. In the following year, when the English arms suffered reverses both on sea and land, the allusions to Henry's victorious exploits would have been less appropriate.

Besides helping to date the play, the 'Carmina' set forth more fully than the prefatory epistle the author's views on the function of tragedy as the highest form of literary composition, in respect alike of style, subject-matter, and emotional effect:

Diserta quaeq; scriptio laudem inuenit
Meritò. Attamen Tragicae Camoenae maximū
Decus merentur propter ornatū styli.
Grauibus enim verbis refertae permouent
Animos, theatrū tristibus complent modis.

Sententiis crebris fluunt in intimos
Sensus. Voluptatē afferunt spectantibus.
Oculis subijciunt flexilē aeui tramitem.
Illustrium casus acerbos exprimunt.

The poets of antiquity are proclaimed by him the masters in this art, from the point of view of style, but their work has not the basis of truth which a scriptural plot supplies:

Priscis in hoc primas Poetis deferunt
Nisi quòd Tragoediā expleant mendacijs.
Res ficta, verba splendida, stylus elegans,
Procul tamen syncera veritas abest.
Proinde nos portenta quaeq; immania
Reiecimus, Dei secuti Oracula.
Materia suppetit hinc Tragoediae proba.
Hinc clara licet exempla vitae promere.
Ergo labores hic locandos duximus,
Virtutis vbi decorus elucet nitor.

Here Christopherson falls into the error, widespread in the Renaissance period, of confusing imaginative truth, which is the sole concern of poetry, with the truth of fact which history, sacred or secular, should supply. He sets forth the same view in greater detail, with particular reference to his own play and the *Iphigenia in Aulis* of Euripides, in a dedicatory letter to Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, which seems to have accompanied another lost MS. of Ἰεφθάε.[1] He states, in much the same terms as to Essex, his reasons for writing a scriptural Greek tragedy, and then proceeds to explain his choice and treatment of the story of Jephthah:

'Quod quidem ut mihi videbatur non inconcinnam Tragoediae materiam complexa est. Nam cum in Iphigeniam ab Euripide perdiserte scriptam intuerer, hanc ab eâ non dissimilem esse perspicue animadvertebam. Atq; ut ille in illâ perscribendâ nonnihil laboris et temporis ponendum merito iudicavit, sic ego in istâ, quae veritate nititur, multo magis elaborandum esse statuebam, et licet ille propter incredibilem facultatem (erat enim in eo genere facile princeps) me longissime superet, ego tamen ei propter veritatem, nihil loci

[1] The original letter has been lost, but there is a copy of it in Harl. MSS. 7043, ff. 301–2. Christopherson states that he dedicates the play to him because he had urged him to undertake such studies, and had also given him financial aid. There is no internal evidence, so far as I can see, to show whether this dedication is earlier or later than that to Essex.

concedendum existimo. Ille veterum Poetarum commenta secutus Fabulam eleganter quidem edidit commentitiam: Ego augustos veritatis fontes repetens veram Historiam vere, uti spero, exposui. Quod igitur in orationis splendore deficit, Illud profecto quasi plenâ manu compensat veritas. Non hic quae in illo Sermonis est grauitas, sed vt in eo genere facultas pertenuis. Ille quidem, quod voluit, tanquam oratione locuples est facile consecutus. Ego vero quod potui, tanquam eiusdem inops, magno cum labore praestiti. In illo perfectio, in me conatus solum.'

Whatever may be thought of Christopherson's view, that the truth of his subject-matter counterbalanced the poetic superiority of the Euripidean tragedy, it is of great interest to learn from the above letter that the *Iphigenia in Aulis* mainly inspired his treatment of the kindred Biblical story. This influence did not extend to diction, for the vocabulary of Ἰεφθάε is far from being purely Euripidean or even Attic. It is a 'gallimaufry' of phrases not merely from the dramatists, but from Homer, the Orators, the Anthology, and even the Septuagint. But the study of his Euripidean model is evident in Christopherson's general handling of his theme. It has the flexibility and breadth of Greek, as contrasted with Senecan, methods. Though unity of place is observed, in so far as the scene lies throughout ἐν τῇ Μασσαφῶ (Mizpeh), that of time is disregarded, and the action covers all the episodes in Jephthah's career related in the eleventh chapter of the Book of Judges.

Thus the three first verses of the chapter, relating Jephthah's base birth and the enmity of his half-brothers, are expanded into a long scene, which may have been partly suggested by the quarrel between Agamemnon and Menelaus near the beginning of the *Iphigenia*. But Christopherson develops it on original lines. He introduces Jephthah in a characteristic mood of thankfulness to God for the gift of strength which counterpoises his shameful origin;[1]

Οὐ πάντ' ἔδωκε πᾶσι παγκρατὴς θεὸς
ἄρδην. τίθει γὰρ ἐσθλὸν ἔν τισιν νόον.
ἄλλοις ἀοιδὴν, κάλλος ὤπαζέν τισι.

[1] I have retained in the quotations the accentuation of the MS., though it often differs from the normal scheme. Some of the strokes are almost straight, and it is difficult to say whether they are meant for \ or /.

τῷ μὲν μένος, καὶ τῷ τάχος πόρεν πύκα.
ῥώμην ἐμοὶ στήθεσσιν ἔνι κατείβετο·
γένος δὲ δυσκλεὲς. χάριν δ' ὅμως ἔχω
θεῷ διδόντι. δυσγένειαν γὰρ σθένος
ἤρτιζε.

He knows that because of his birth his brothers envy his inheritance, and wish to banish him from the land, but he will not offer resistance:

τλήσω μὲν οὖν, κοὐκ ἀντερείσω φέρτερον.
οὐ γὰρ καλὸν κείνοις μάχεσθ', αὐτὰρ βαρύ.

On the entrance, however, of the brothers it is seen that they are sharply differentiated. The elder abjures all kinship with the bastard, while the younger pleads on his behalf:

Αδ. πρ. οὐδαμῶς ὁμαίμων λέξεται.
νόθος γάρ ἐστι φαῦλος, ἠδ' ἀτάσθαλος.
κτείνειν χρεών. στείχωμεν ἀρτίως, κάσι.

. . . . . .

Αδ. νεω. φρόνει. φλέγεις ἄγαν, κασίγνητον κάρα.
νίκα δὲ τλημοσύνῃ. πέλει γὰρ βέλτιον.
νικᾷν σεαυτόν ἐστι νίκη παγκαλής.

Jephthah's loving words of welcome are insolently flung back:

Ιεφ. ὦ σύγγονοι μοῦ φίλτατοι χαίρειν λέγω.
ἦλθον γὰρ ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν διδοὺς πρόφρων.
Αδ. πρ. σὺ τὴν χάριν; μᾶλλον μὲν ἐχθρὰν προσφέρεις.
ἔχθιστος εἶ πάντων. τί δ' ὡς ἡμᾶς μολεῖς;

. . . . . .

ἀδελφὸς οὐκ εἶς, ἀλλὰ δ' αἴσχιστος νόθος.
πόρνη δὲ τίκτεσκε ῥυπαρὰ, γυνὴ ξένη.

The younger brother again intercedes, but though Jephthah offers to surrender all, the elder brother is not appeased:

λῆρον δὲ ληρεῖς. ἔξιθ' αἶψα τῆς χθονὸς.
ἐνθάδε μένειν οὐκ ἔστι νῦν, ἐχθρὸν κάρα.
κληρονομίας μήτ' ἂν τύχοις, μητρὸς γέγως
πόρνης. ἀδοξίαν φέρεις τῷ σῷ γένει.
μισητὸς εἶς θεῷ, βροτοῖσιν οὐ φίλος.

The torrent of insult continues, but Jephthah cannot be provoked into retaliation:

Ιεφ. ὅταν δὲ θυμωθείς τίς ἐστ' ὑπερφυῶς
λόγος κένος, νοῦς σφάλλεται, καὶ γλῶσσα ῥεῖ.
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ νείκειν, ἀδελφὲ μοῦ, τοθῶ.
οὐ τόσσον ἐστὶ κῆδος ἥδη τῆς δε γῆς
ὅσσον νομίζεις· ἐστὶ γὰρ πατρὶς σοφῷ
ὅπου μὲν εὖ πράττῃ . . . . . .
ἔρις γὰρ ἄμοτον, καὶ δ' ὀφέλλει τὸν στόνον.
ὀλίγη δὲ πρῶτα κορύσσεται παρ' ἀνδράσι,
ἔπειτα στηρίζει κάρη σὺν οὐρανῷ.

He is ready to fare forth, but he warns the elder brother that he who wishes to rule well must be master of his own passions. Again the younger brother appeals for clemency, but the elder bursts out angrily:

ἄλις λόγων. τί κάρτα μέλλεις; ἔξιθι.

He even grudges Jephthah a farewell to his father and his home:

Ιεφ. ὦ πάτρις, ὦ πατερ, πόλις, πάντες φίλοι.
Αδ. πρ. τί ταῦτα νῦν αὖτως καλεῖς; οὐκ ἂν τύχοις.
Ιεφ. δός μοι βλέπειν πόλιν πρὶν ἐξελθεῖν χθονὸς.
Αδ. πρ. οὔ ποτε γενήσεται· πόνον φροῦδον πονεῖς.
Ιεφ. ἀχάριστος εἶ λίαν. θεὸν μαρτύρομαι.
Αδ. πρ. σὺ μὲν θεὸν καλεῖς πανάγαθον πάγκακος;

Jephthah's answer is a prayer for his brothers to God, in whom now is his sole refuge:

προσεύχομαι θεῷ
πρὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, μὴ τι πάσχοιεν κακὸν,
τῶν μὲν χάριν ἃ πέπονθα. συγγνώμην θεὸς
δότω . . . . . .
ἄνανδρος εἰμὶ· πάντα δ' εὐχερῆ θεῷ·
χώρης ἄλις δώσει θεὸς φυτοῦργος ὤν.

After he has gone forth, a Chorus of Gileadites moralizes on the variableness of life:

ὡς πολύπλαγκτος βίος ἀνθρώπων·
νῦν δὲ φυγάς τις, νῦν δ' ἐπανῆλθε,
οὐδέποτ' ἔμμονος, ἀλλὰ δὲ στρεπτὸς,
ἥδη δύστονος, ὄλβιος αὖθις.

Such changes befall not only the evil, but the good, as is now seen in the case of Jephthah:

φιλοπροσήγορος ἔπλετο πᾶσιν
οὐδενὶ φαῦλος, πᾶσι βοηθὸς,

. . . . .

ἰσχυρὸς, οὐχὶ δὲ μήτιος ἐκτὸς.

. . . . .

φροῦδος, φροῦδος, φυγὰς Ἰεφθάε.
οὐδεὶς λοιπὸς χθόνος ἀμύντωρ,
θέσκελος ἀνὴρ.

The opening scene thus skilfully shows the combination in Jephthah of family love and loyalty to God, and prepares us for a crisis should these be brought into conflict. It foreshadows, too, the dangers likely to befall Israel when bereft of his strong arm. In the next scene these fears are realized. A messenger enters breathless, and announces to the Chorus the invasion of Israel by the sons of Ammon with an army which is harrying and burning. Where, he cries, are the elders of Gilead? Two of them come forth and hear his pregnant tidings:

μῦθον συνάψω ἐν βραχεῖ. ἐχθρὸς πάρα.

The first elder thinks that God is punishing them for what has befallen Jephthah, their righteous leader:

δίκαιος ἦν, φιλόπατρις, ἀνδρεῖος μάλα.
οὐδεὶς δὲ λοιπὸς ἀρχὸς εὐκλεὴς χθονί.

His companion agrees, and is certain he will never be willing to return:

ἀρχὸς δὲ μηδεὶς ὃς στρατὸν σοφῶς ἄγῃ.
Ἰεφθάε φυγὼν, οὔτις ἄλλος ἄλκιμος.
μετάπεμπε τὸν μὲν εὐθέως πρὸς πατρίδα.
οὐκ ἔστι. μήθ' ἑλεύσεται διὰ τὴν φυγὴν.
ἐκεῖνος εὖ ποιεῖν θέλει, παθὼν κακῶς;
οὐ δῆτα.

The first elder, however, is confident that, if they send to Jephthah, he will come back. Though wronged, he will not commit wrong in return, but will leave justice to God. Again his companion urges that it will be in vain, that the exile will remind them that:

κακουργία βλάπτει κακούργους πολλάκις.

After a long argument in exactly balanced speeches, first of two lines and afterwards of one, the first elder prevails, and Jephthah is summoned back.

To the joy of the anxiously expectant Chorus he appears with a cry of salutation to his home and countrymen:

Ιεφ. ἄψορρός ἔρχομαι πατρὸς πρὸς δώματα.
ὦ μοῦ φίλοι χαίρετε. χθονὸς μεθέξομαι
πάλιν μεθ' ὑμῶν. ὅρχαμος πιστὸς στρατοῦ
πρὸς πολεμίους πάρειμι. μὴ φοβεῖσθε τί.
ῥηξήνορος θεοῦ σθένος νικᾷν φιλεῖ.

But though ready to lead in war, he seeks to avert its need. He sends to the sons of Ammon, asking the reason of their invasion and urging them to make peace:

κρείττων μὲν εἰρήνη μάχης νίκης μέτα.

He does not, as in the Biblical story, make it a condition of his help that he should be appointed head of the people. But while his message is being carried to the Ammonites, the elders themselves urge Jephthah to go to the city, and seize the emblems of sovereignty:

μεταξὺ στεῖχε πρὸς πόλιν, καὶ σύλλογον
κήρυττε, καὶ τὰ σκῆπτρα γῆς δῶρον λάβε,
καὶ στέμμα κειράνου. τὸ γὰρ γέρας μέγα.

He gladly goes citywards, but merely to see his father and his friends:

τοῦτ' ἂν γένοιτο. πρὸς πόλιν σπεύδω, γέρον.
γονεῖς ποθῶ βλέπειν λίαν καὶ τοὺς φίλους.
πατρὸς πρόσοψις πλεῖστον εὐφραίνει τέκνα.
πόλις δὲ πόλλην ἡδονὴν ἴδια φέρει,
ἀλλώστε φυγάσι δὴν τρίβουσ' ἔξω δόμων.
ἔπεσθέ μοι γέροντες ὡς πόλιν ταχύ.

During his absence the messenger returns, crying:

ποῦ ποῦ δ' ἄναξ; ὡς ταῦτ' ἀκούσειεν κακά.

The Chorus tells that Jephthah has gone εἰς ἄστυ, and the messenger is preparing to run thither, when the Chorus checks him with the words:

ἄναξ τανῦν χωρεῖ θυρῶν ἔξω στέγους.

He announces to Jephthah that the τύραννος in a fury refused to listen to the message of peace. Jephthah bids him return and deliver the message again, but he brings the same answer:

> . . . περὶ σπονδῆς λόγος φροῦδος. μέρους
> ταύτης μετασχεῖν φασὶν αὐτοὺς τῆς χθονὸς
> χρῆναι· μάχης δ᾽ ἰζυρᾶς ἦρεν πόθος
> Ἀμμὼν, ἀπέπτυσεν θεὸν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> τροπαὶ δ᾽ ἀναστήσειν δορὸς περὶ τῆς δε γῆς
> καὶ σκῦλα λήψεσθαι νεκρῶν ἡῦδα σαφῶς.

With all hope of peace abandoned, Jephthah prays for help in the coming battle, and utters his fateful vow:

> εὐχὴν μὲν εὔχομαι τὰ τέκνα δ᾽ Ἀμμόνος
> ἐν χεῖρ᾽ ἐὰν δώσεις ἐμοῦ, τὸν ἐκ θυρῶν
> χωροῦντα πρῶτον εἰς ἀπάντησίν γ᾽, ἐμοὶ
> νοστοῦντι, θῦμα ῥέξομαί σοι κοίρανε.

The story of the fight is told by a messenger to the Chorus in a vividly realistic speech:

> ἔβημεν ἅντα πάντες εἰς ἄκμην ἄφαρ.
> καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τόξοισι, καὶ μεσαγκύλοις
> ἐμαρνάμεσθα, τέκν᾽ ἔκλαγξεν Ἀμμόνος.
> οὐτάζομεν δεινῶς πολεμίους ἀντικρὺ.
> ὡς τις τύφος κείνοις ἐνεπέσομεν βοᾷ.
> ἀσπὶς γὰρ ἀσπίδ᾽ ἔρειδε καὶ κόρυς κόρυν,
> ἀνὴρ τὸν ἄνδρα, δουρὶ φράξαντες δόρυ.
> ἀόλλεες προυτύψαμεν στιβαρῷ ξίφει.
> τὸ αἷμα, ποταμὸς ὡς, ῥέει, χειμάῤῥοος,
> ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν· ἀεὶ θεὸς βοηθὸς ἦν.

God thunders ἐξ ὀλύμπου, the Ammonites flee in terror like sheep before the wolf:

> οἰκτρὸς δ᾽ ὀδυρμὸς κατὰ στίχας λαοῦ πέλει.
> γεγονοῦσι φεῦ· φεῦ· πάντες ἀλλήλοις βρόμῳ
> τετρωμένοι στείχουσιν, ἄλλος πρὸς στόμα,
> ἄλλου μὲν ἔντερ᾽ ἑλκυθέντα πρὸς πόδας,
> ἄλλος δὲ χειρὸς ἐστερημένος θέει.
> ἄπους μὲν ἄλλος κεῖτο, πάντες τραύματα
> εἶχον· τέλοσδε πρὸς πόλεις τὰς εἴκοσι
> μολοῦμεν ἀπ᾽ Ἀροὴρ μεχρὶ μεννείθ τόπου.

The Israelites lay siege to the cities, and set fire to them. The scene of lamentation and terror is forcibly portrayed:

ἰυγμὸς ὀξὺς τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων.
αἴ, αἴ βράχουσι, ποῖ φυγεῖν ἐστ' ἐκ μόρου;
ποτιδέρκεται βρέφη τοκεῖς σὺν δάκρυσιν.
ὡς δνοφερὸν ὕδωρ ἐκ πέτρης καταῤῥέει,
οὕτως τὰ τέκνα θερμὰ χεῦσεν δάκρυα.
ἔξω δὲ τειχέων ὀρούουσ' ἰλαδὸν,
ὡς ἔθνεα μελίσσων πέτονται βοτρυδὸν,
οὕτως γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων κλόνος θορεῖ
ὁμηγερὴς. ἱκτῆρες ἦλθον πρὸς στρατὸν,
στοναχοῦντες ἀμφαδὸν, γονυπετοῦσιν μάτην.
θεὸς γὰρ ἄφθιτος κέλει σφάττειν ξίφει.

Here Christopherson not only shows command of pathos, in a scene which is entirely of his own invention, but he adds to the plot a grim stroke of tragic irony. The general of the army that, in obedience to the commands of Israel's God, is inexorable to the entreaties of women and children perishing by the sword, has already, by his vow to the same God, unwittingly destined his own daughter to a like fate.

Immediately after the Chorus has chanted a paean of thanksgiving for the victory, at the moment when Jephthah's fortunes seem at their highest, the *περιπέτεια* occurs. He enters with words of praise to the Almighty on his lips:

ὦ πάμμακαρ θεὸς· σὺ μοῦνος εἶ θεὸς.
νικηφόρος παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνδράσιν κυρεῖς.

He is greeted by his daughter with a joyful cry of welcome:

σὺ χαῖρε μοι πάτερ, σὺ χαῖρε φίλτατε.

The cry is answered by a groan from the horror-stricken leader, who turns away his face from the doomed girl. Her bewildered queries he meets with ominous and riddling outbursts:

Θυγ. τί γίνεται πάτερ; πρόσωπον τί τρέπεις;
Ιεφ. ω τέκνον, ὦ δόλος ἄδολος, καθεῖς ἐμὲ.
Θυγ. ἐγὼ καθῶ σε μοῦ πάτερ; μὴ γίνεται.
Ιεφ. θύγατερ σὺ δίκτυον τίταινες τῷ πατρὶ.

When she begs to know the meaning of these and similar dark sayings, and of the tears that womanlike he begins to shed, he answers equivocally, in the words of Agamemnon to Iphigenia[1]:

ἔα. με θυσίαν ἄφαρ θῦσαι δέον.

With unconscious irony, the daughter declares that she will take a part in this holy rite:

τοῦτ' εὐσεβὲς· ξὺν σοὶ δὲ θῦμα ῥέξομαι.

When she asks whence Jephthah will procure the sacrificial victim, she is bidden refrain from questioning:

Ιεφ. πρὸς χεῖρα, μὴ ζητῇς· μαθεῖν οὐ χρὴ κόρας.
Θυγ. μὴ κεῦθε ταῦτα μοι πατὲρ, σιγᾶν θέλω.

After further hints that he has a grievous revelation to make, Jephthah discloses that the victim is to be one of his household:

Ιεφ. χρὴ κατθανεῖν χάριν μάχης ἡμῶν τίνα.
Θυγ. πάσης δὲ σαρκὸς οἶμος οὗτος γίνεται.
Ιεφ. φύσει θανεῖν καλὸν, ξίφει μὲν οὐ καλὸν.
Θυγ. εἰ θεῷ θάνῃς, οὐ διαφέρει τίνι τρόπῳ.
Ιεφ. αἰσχρὸν σιδήρῳ θνήσκεμεν θηκτῷ κόρη.

At the mention of a maiden's death by the sword, the daughter realizes what is to come:

πάτερ τί τοῦτο; παῖδα σοῦ κτείνειν θέλεις;

Jephthah at last reveals the terrible truth:

ὦ φιλτάτη· χρή μ' αἱματοῦν δέρην σέθεν.
ἄκων δὲ ῥέζω· ῥέζεμεν δ' ὅμως χρεών.

Unlike Iphigenia, on the announcement of her fate the Hebrew maiden weeps no tears and raises no supplicating prayer for mercy. As soon as she hears that Jephthah is constrained by a vow to God, she does not murmur:

τί πρᾶγμα; πείθεσθαι γὰρ εἴθισμαι θεῷ.

She merely asks her father to tell her the story of his vow. He does so, and then bewails his life to come, bereft of her care and companionship. The picture that he gives of the perfectly

[1] Θῦσαί με θυσίαν πρῶτα δεῖ τιν' ἐνθάδε *Iph. in Aulis* 673.

ordered home under her direction is another of the dramatist's inventions, and eases for a moment the high-strung tension of the scene:

βιωτὸς οὐ βίος, σέθεν χώρις, τέκνον.

. . . . .

σὺ γὰρ μόνη διῴκεες τὴν ἑστιὰν
ἀμέριμνος ἦν ἐγώ, σὺ δ' ἐμμελὴς ἀεὶ
περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς· σύ, φιλτάτη, γηροτρόφος.
σέθεν παρούσης πάντες ἀμφίπολοι θοῶς
τράποντο πρὸς τὰ ἔργα τῶν μελάθρων ἔσω·
ὀφθαλμὸς ἐντόνως μογεῖν ὤτρυνε σοῦ.
ἔξω δόμων ἐὰν ἄχθος ἐμπέσῃ νόῳ
οἶκοι δὲ τοῦτ' ἔπεπτον ὄψει σοῦ καλῇ.
κακῶν παραψυχὴ, σὺ βάκτρον γήρατος.
σὺ δ' ἡγεμὼν ὁδοῦ, σὺ φῶς τυφλοῦ φανὸν.

He laments the miseries of childlessness, but declares that he must fulfil his vow, and begs his daughter's forgiveness.

Her only reproach is for the tears that he is shedding, which she fears may be seen, to his disgrace, by those about them:

οὐ τόσσον ἄλγος ἐμοῦ πέρι, ζῆν οὗ ποθῶ.
λυπεῖ με μᾶλλον ὄψιν εἰσορᾶν πατρὸς
θερμοῖς δὲ δάκρυσιν βρέχεσθαι· λῆγε νῦν.

She grieves to think there will be none to comfort him in old age. But he may have children by another wife. Were he to die, she could not have another father. The surrender of her life to God for her country's sake is not grief to her, but joy:

τρὶς εὐτυχὴς, ὅστις θεῷ ζώην πόρεν.
θάνατος μὲν οὗτος ἐστὶν ἀσφαλὴς βίος.
καὶ μὴν νομίζω νῦν με κάρτ' εὐδαίμονα
ἐὰν τύχοιμι θύμα πατρίδος πέρι.

She only mourns that she should die childless, and begs, as in the Biblical story, that she may go for two months to the mountains, to bewail her virginity with her fellows. Jephthah entreats her not to depart, but she remains firm in her resolve, and he bids her farewell sorrowfully and enters his house.

When she is left alone with her maidens, the grief that she

has restrained in her father's presence overcomes her. She bewails more bitterly than before her childless fate:

τὰ τέκνα λείπειν ἐν βροτοῖς δόξαν φέρει.
ἀλλ' οὐ γενήσεται τὸ μοι τρὶς δυστυχεῖ.
ἀνώνυμος μέλλω θανεῖν, φεῦ σχετλία.

She contrasts her fate with theirs:

ὑμᾶς, φιλαί, λείπειν ἀνάγκη δ' ἐν βίῳ.
μακρὰν πορείαν δεῖ λαβεῖν τανῦν ἐμέ.
τὸ φῶς βλέπειν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ὀλβίαις
ἀλλ' ἀθλίᾳ μοι ὁ ζόφος μέγας παρὰ.
ὦ νηλεὴς μοῖρα, βιὸς ὦ μοι νηλεγὴς.
ἄφνω δὲ λυγραῖς συμφοραῖς ἐμπίπτομεν.
τερὴν γάρ εἰμι παρθένος, ἄγαμος τ', ἄπαις.
ἄωρος εἰς οἶτον βαρὺν προπέμπομαι.

But her lamentation is merely for a moment; she turns to God as her refuge and hope:

σὺ νυμφίος, σὺ τέκνα μοι, καὶ σὺ πατὴρ.
σὺ φῶς, σὺ βίος εἶς, καὶ σὺ πάντων ἐν μέρει.
ἐν χειρὶ σοῦ πέλω· σὺ πράττε τό σοι δοκοῦν.

When she has departed with her handmaidens to the mountains, the Chorus bewails in anapaestic verse her untimely fate, and confesses that it is perplexed between joy at Jephthah's victory and grief at the consequences of his vow. All should take warning therefrom, not to make vows without forethought.

The next scene introduces Jephthah's wife. The Bible makes no mention of her, and after the Gileadite leader's impassioned eulogy of his daughter as the sole mainstay of his home, we are unprepared for her presence. Her appearance on the stage is doubtless due to that of Klytemnestra in the *Iphigenia*, and she plays a similar part.

She is not torn, like the Chorus, between conflicting emotions, but deplores the fatal victory, and roundly blames her husband's rash action:

ὦ δύσμορον νίκην ἔχουσαν πημονὰς
ταλαίφρονας· μὴ πώποτ' ἂν γένοιτό μοι.
. . . . . .

τί τὴν μὲν εὐχωλὴν πατὴρ ἐπράξατο;
θεὸν δ' ἱλάσκεσθαι τρόπῳ τούτῳ δοκεῖ;
ἥμαρτε κάρτα· οὐ θεὸς γὰρ αἵματος
ἐρᾷ· λίαν παιδοφθόρον μισεῖ κακόν.

She declares to Jephthah that the fulfilment of his vow will be hateful to God, and bids him substitute another sacrifice. But her arguments leave him unmoved, and with a final cry that he is a madman, and that she longs herself for death, she goes indoors. While Jephthah is shuddering at the prospect of executing his dread task, his daughter returns, cheerfully prepared to die:

. . . πάρειμι σοι πατὲρ. θῦσον τανῦν
τὸ θῦμα· σῶμ' ἕτοιμον· οὐ μηδὲν τρέω.

For the first time Jephthah wavers, and offers himself to die on her behalf, but she declares again her readiness to meet her fate. She breathes a last prayer to God:

ὦ πάντ' ἰθύνων ἐν δὲ γῇ καὶ δ' οὐρανῷ
ἡμῶν θεὸς, βλέψον λάτριν σέθεν ἵλεως.
οἴκτειρε τοῦ πατρὸς. δὸς εἰρήνην χθονὶ.
κούφιζε πένθος μητέρος, δὸς καρτερὸν
ἐμοὶ νόον, δὸς ὑπομονὴν πρὸς τὸν μόρον.

And with a threefold farewell to friends, parents, and πολῖται she passes within to her doom.

After the Chorus has briefly lamented the ill fate of the house of Jephthah, an οἰκέτης enters to tell how the maiden had died. Even beside the sacrificial altar her constancy had not wavered; she had gloried in being offered up for Israel, and had bidden her father strike:

ἰδοὺ, παρέξω τὴν δέρην[1], ἰδοὺ κάρα.
ἰδοὺ τὸ στῆθος παρθένου, μάστος πάρα.
πάτασσε νῦν πατὲρ. τρέω μηδὲν μόρον.

Again and again had the reluctant executioner lifted the knife in vain:

πατὴρ ἐλάζετο ξίφος τλήμων μόλις.
ἤρετο σμικρὸν· πίπτει χάμαζε εὐθέως.

[1] Cf. σιγῇ παρέξω γὰρ δέρην εὐκαρδίως *Iph. in Aul.* 1560.

ἀνιστὰς αὖθις ἤρξατο πλήττειν γοῶν.
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐᾶ νόος. βοᾶ κλαυθμοῦ μέτα.
ὦ παῖ· σὺ λάβε ξίφος. πατρὸς κόψον κάρα.
ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔσσομαι τὸ θῦμα σοῦ πέρι.
ὄλωλα δύσποτμος, τί φῶς ἔτι βλέπω;

But at last, urged by those around him, Jephthah had struck the fatal blow:

ἔρευσεν αἷμα· βωμὸς εὐγενεῖ φόνῳ
ἐστέψατ'· ἀσπαίρει τὸ σῶμα πρὸς βραχὺ.
ἤρξαντο πάντες δακρύειν πικρῶς κόρην.
θαμβοῦσιν ἀνδρίαν ἐκείνης ἐν κύκλῳ.

And the οἰκέτης ends with a eulogy of the maiden's εὐψυχία and her obedience:

παῖς ἥδε πείθεσθαι λόγῳ πατρὸς θέλεν.
τύχοι δ' ἂν ἀφθίτου κλέους ἐν τοῖς βροτοῖς.

The Chorus utters no word of pity for the victim, but again points the moral of her fate as a warning against rash vows:

εἰκῇ μὲν εὔχεσθαι βλάβην φέρει θάμα.
ἐντεῦθεν ἐστὶ δεῖγμα παγκαλὲς λαβεῖν.
ποιεῖτ' ἄρ' εὔχας δεξιῶς πάντες θεῷ,
ἔπειτα καὶ τελεῖτε· τοῦτο δ' εὐσεβές.

Thus the play closes on a tritely didactic note that is somewhat incongruous with the animated characterization and poignant feeling which mark it throughout. These features distinguish it from Buchanan's *Iephthes*. Though Ascham spoke of the Scottish humanist's tragedy as one of the only two that he had seen 'able to abyde the trew touch of *Aristotles* preceptes and *Euripides* examples', and though Buchanan himself, as has been seen, made Latin versions at Bordeaux of the *Medea* and the *Alcestis*, there is no trace in his play of the distinctive influences of Greek dramatic art. It is even more strictly Senecan in form and spirit than *Baptistes*, and as its second title, *Votum*, suggests, it is less concerned with personal issues than with the moral aspects of the situation created by the Israelite leader's fatal vow. Thus it omits, save for a brief allusion in the prologue spoken by an angel, the episodes of Jephthah's ill-treatment by his

brothers, his exile, and recall, which Christopherson elaborates so effectively. It does not, in fact, introduce Jephthah in person till after a Nuncius has told the story of his victory over the Ammonites in vivid and sonorous verse. And when he appears it is in the character of the stern religious leader, denouncing Israel's lapse into idolatry, of which God's forgiveness has been shown in the triumph over the invaders. Even in the scene after he meets his daughter there is no poignancy of emotion. The dialogue is at once much shorter, and weightier with reflective passages, than in the corresponding scene of Christopherson's play. And the revelation of the maiden's coming doom is not made to herself, but to a typical Senecan confidant, Symmachus, who discourses at length on the different conditions of life and their relative balance of weal and woe. In the next scene we are drifted further out of the region of emotion into that of dialectic, while Jephthah and a Sacerdos dispute whether it is right to carry out a vow involving a daughter's sacrifice. The priest maintains that the performance of so unnatural an oath is a violation of divine law; the Israelite leader argues that the judgement of the 'vulgus indocile et rude' is to be followed, which insists on the fulfilment of a vow once made. There is nothing corresponding to this discussion in the Cambridge play, but Buchanan's work is allied to Christopherson's in the following scene, where Jephthah's wife bitterly upbraids him. Even here, however, the strain of personal lamentation is mingled with a semi-forensic plea for equality of rights between both parents in a child, It is, indeed, only in the final portrayal of the maiden's glorious dedication of herself to death for her country's sake, and of her rapture of spirit as she meets her doom, that the Scottish and English humanists come completely into unison.

Its compact unity of structure, its keen dialectic, and its sinewy, sonorous rhetoric justly won for Buchanan's tragedy —though it had not the political significance of *Baptistes*— a place among the masterpieces of Renaissance classical drama. Meanwhile, Christopherson's work, appealing only to the limited circle of Greek scholars, remained in manuscript and unknown outside Cambridge. Yet it was in this, and not

in the famous contemporary Latin play that the human issues of the Jephthah story found their adequate interpretation.

The play that Ascham coupled with Buchanan's *Iephthes* as 'able to abyde the trew touch of *Aristotles* preceptes and *Euripides* examples' was *Absalon*, by Thomas Watson of St. John's, Cambridge.[1] This Thomas Watson (who must not be confounded with the author of Ἑκατομπαθία and a translation of the *Antigone*) was born in 1513, proceeded B.A. in 153¾ and M.A. in 1537. He was elected a Fellow of St. John's in 1535, and was for some years dean of the College. Ascham bears testimony to the part that he took with Sir John Cheke, Sir Thomas Smith, and others in vitalizing the study of Aristotle at Cambridge by collecting examples from other authors to illustrate his precepts.[2] Like Christopherson, who was his junior at the University by some half-dozen years, he combined enthusiasm for the new learning with strongly orthodox Romanist views, and is notable both as a humanist and a religious controversialist. In 1545 he was appointed chaplain to Bishop Gardiner, and was imprisoned probably more than once during Edward VI's reign. On Mary's accession he became one of the most popular champions of Roman Catholicism, and was appointed successively Master of St. John's, Dean of Durham, and Bishop of Lincoln. Like Christopherson, he was ruined when Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, but unlike him had to spend many miserable years in more or less strict custody, till his death at Wisbech in September 1584.

The single play on which, as far as we know, Watson's reputation as a University dramatist rests, seems to have originated in his commendable practise of seeking for concrete illustrations of general maxims. 'Whan *M. Watson*', relates Ascham, 'in S. Iohns College at Cambrige, wrote his excellent Tragedie of *Absalon*, *M. Cheke*, he, and I, for that part of trew Imitation, had many pleasant talkes togither, in comparing the preceptes of *Aristotle* and *Horace de Arte Poetica* with the examples of *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, and *Seneca*.'[3] He was specially interested in metrical questions, and in a translation of Book I of the *Odyssey*, was one of the earliest English

[1] Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 284 (*English Works*, ed. W. Aldis Wright).
[2] *op. cit.*, 278. [3] *op. cit.*, 284.

scholars to attempt to acclimatize the classical hexameter in English. His versification won high praise from Ascham and Webbe, and his fastidiousness in metrical *minutiae* appears to have affected unduly his critical judgement of his own and other plays:

'One man in Cambrige, well liked of many, but best liked of him selfe, was many tymes bold and busie to bryng matters vpon stages, which he called Tragedies. In one, wherby he looked to wynne his spurres, and whereat many ignorant felowes fast clapped their handes, he began the *Protasis* with *Trochaeijs Octonarijs:* which kinde of verse, as it is but seldome and rare in Tragedies, so it is neuer vsed, saue onelie in *Epitasi:* whan the Tragedie is hiest and hotest, and full of greatest troubles. I remember ful well what *M. Watson* merelie sayd vnto me of his blindnesse and boldnes in that behalfe, although othewise there passed much frendship betwene them.[1] *M. Watson* had an other maner care of perfection, with a feare and reuerence of the iudgement of the best learned: who to this day would neuer suffer yet his *Absalon* to go abroad, and that onelie bicause, in *locis paribus*, *Anapestus* is twise or thrise vsed in stede of *Iambus:* A smal faulte, and such one as perchance would neuer be marked, no neither in *Italie* nor *France*.'[2]

Ascham may, perhaps, have hoped that these words, published in 1570, would induce his friend to waive his scruples, and allow his play at last 'to go abroad'. If so, the appeal was in vain. *Absalon* was never printed, nor is there any manuscript extant which can be said without doubt to contain it. But there is a unique MS. in the British Museum (Stowe 957) which preserves for us either Watson's play or another neo-classic treatment of the same subject. It is written in a sixteenth-century hand, but has no title-page nor even title, nor any indication of authorship, date, or provenance. The numerous corrections in the text by the original hand suggest that the MS. is autograph, and show that the writer had the

[1] Mr. E. K. Chambers has suggested (*op. cit.*, ii. 195 note) that Ascham 'possibly refers' to Christopherson. It is true that between him and Watson, both fervent Romanists, there might have 'passed much frendship', while at the same time, as members of rival colleges, they were hostile critics of each other's dramatic productions. But in Ἰεφθάε there is no such prosodic irregularity as that of which Watson spoke so scornfully, and it is very unlikely that it occurred in the Latin version. Nothing is known of any other tragedy by Christopherson, though the Trinity accounts include expenses for 'our masters shew' in 1555–6.

[2] Ascham, *op. cit.*, 284.

faculty of self-criticism which Ascham attributes in so full a measure to Watson. In constructive power and psychological insight the anonymous work, as a detailed examination of it shows,[1] would not be unworthy of the Cambridge humanist. But one hesitates, without any external evidence, to make so fastidious a scholar responsible for its tasteless rhetoric and monotonous versification, though the Renaissance standard in such matters was different from our own. On the whole, it seems improbable that an autograph copy, with the author's own corrections, of Watson's jealously guarded play should have come down in this haphazard fashion, without any outward sign of its origin.[2] Moreover if, as is probable, Ascham included the observance of the Unities amongst 'Aristotles preceptes', though the immediate reference is to 'Imitation', the extant *Absalon* could not have earned his commendation, for that of Time, in particular, is set at defiance.

Hence in its structural design, as well as in its frequent diffuseness and sentimentality, it differs radically from *Iephthes*, and it is hard to believe that any critic could have classed them together. If Ascham's judgement is to be trusted, Watson's *Absalon* must have been a more monumental and scholarly, though not necessarily more interesting, work than the 'masterless' tragedy that has survived. But it has to be borne in mind that it is a case of one member of 'that most worthie College of S. Iohns in Cambrige' praising another, at the expense of rival dramatists at Trinity or elsewhere.[3]

Whatever may have been the merits of Watson's tragedy, we may be certain that so keen a champion of Romanism would

[1] See Appendix I.

[2] There seems to be no specimen of Watson's writing in his Cambridge days available for purposes of comparison. A letter from him to Burghley written from Farnham, October 6, 1578, is preserved at Hatfield (*Cat. of MSS. of Marquis of Salisbury*, ii, no. 62). But as he was then aged 65, and was partly blind, a comparison between it and the Stowe manuscript would be misleading.

[3] Ascham is really our only source of information about Watson's play. Gabriel Harvey in his letter of October 23, 1579, to Spenser, speaks of it as 'his famous Absolon', but merely quotes Ascham's illustration of how 'exacte and precise' he was in his prosody. Similarly Francis Meres, in *Palladis Tamia* (1598), though he includes Watson among 'our best for Tragedie', afterwards does no more than repeat (without acknowledgement) Ascham's comparison of the play with Buchanan's *Iephthes*. It is possible, though improbable, that Meres's first reference is to the translator of *Antigone*.

not have wished it to be judged, in spite of his longing for technical perfection, by a purely artistic standard. The religious humanists—whether like Watson and Christopherson they stood for orthodoxy, or like Grimald and Buchanan were adherents of the reformed faith—put before themselves in their scriptural dramas primarily didactic and devotional aims. Herein, amidst all differences of technique and culture, they were at one with the mediaeval writers of miracles and moralities. A play with a biblical plot had *ipso facto* in their eyes a transcendent value which more than compensated for its inferiority to the classical masterpieces. As far as possible, they would have limited the drama of their own day, at any rate tragedy, to themes from the Old and New Testaments, though, as has been seen, they treated these with great freedom.

The fullest expression of the views of this school is found in the *De Regno Christi* of Martin Bucer, who though not himself a dramatist, was closely associated first with the German and afterwards with the Cambridge writers of religious plays. After a prolonged ministry at Strassburg, Bucer had in April 1549 found it advisable to take refuge in England, where, through the influence of Cranmer, he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. The chief of his *Scripta Anglicana*, was the treatise *De Regno Christi*, presented as a new year's gift to Edward VI in 1550. In his discussion of various practical aspects of the Christian life, Bucer included a section (Bk. II, ch. 54) *De honestis ludis*, in which he approved of young men acting plays, if they were written by godly authors, and had a moral tendency.

'Poterit iuuentus etiam exerceri agendo comoedias et tragoedias; populisque his honesta, & ad augendam pietatem non inutilis exhiberi oblectatio; sed pijs, & ad regnum CHRISTI doctis atque sapientibus viris opus fuerit, qui comoedias eas atq; tragoedias componant; in quibus nimirum eiusmodi imitatio repraesentetur, consiliorum, actionum, atq; euentuum humanorum, siue communium & vulgarium, vt fit in comoedijs: siue singularium & qui sint maioris admirationis, quod proprium est tragoediae, quae ad certam morum correctionem, & piam conferat vitae institutionem.

He proceeds to give examples of scriptural episodes which would be suitable material for comedies. His choice is all the

more interesting because we know of no plays produced in England on any of the subjects that he mentions. The first is the dispute between the herdsmen of Abraham and Lot, and its consequences, which should be handled in such a way as to illustrate six theological or moral 'loci', which Bucer enumerates. The marriage of Isaac and Rebecca, and Jacob's service with Laban, are also cited as suitable for similar dramatic treatment.[1] Though he confines his examples to these Old Testament themes, Bucer allows that comedy cannot be limited to Biblical plots: 'Quanquam verò Scripturae plerasque contineant historias è quibus sanctae ac Christianos decentes comoediae queant effingi: tamen idonei & pij poetae possunt multas tales dare & ex alijs historijs ipsoque vitae cotidianae vsu'.

Tragedy, on the other hand, as he states in a remarkable passage, he would base entirely on scriptural episodes:

'Tragoedijs Scripturae vbique perquàm copiosam offerunt materiam, historijs propè omnibus S. Patrum, regum, Prophetarum & Apostolorum, inde ab Adam vsque, primo humani generis parente. Omnino enim refertae sunt hae historiae diuinis & heroicis personis, affectionibus, moribus, actionibus, euentibus quoque inexpectatis, atque in cōtrarium quam expectarentur cadentibus, quas Aristoteles vocat περιπετείας. Quae omnia cùm mirificam vim habeant fidem in Deum confirmandi, & amorem studiumque Dei accēdendi, admirationem item pietatis atque iusticię, & horrorem impietatis, omnisque peruersitatis ingenerandi atque augendi: quanto magis deceat Christianos, vt ex his sua poemata sumant, quibus magna & illustria hominum consilia, conatus, ingenium, affectus atque casus repraesentent quàm ex impijs ethnicorum vel fabulis, vel historijs!'

The last words almost echo Airy's remarks to Grimald when he was urging him to print *Christus Rediuiuus*.[2]

Bucer further insists that there should be a body of specially qualified censors who should give heed 'ne qua omnino agatur comoedia, aut tragoedia, quam hi non antè perspectam decreuerint agendam'. With proper precautions on their part, young men might have the benefit of edifying dramatic performances, 'cùm lingua vernacula tum etiam lingua Latina

[1] The author of *The Historie of Iacob and Esau*, licensed for printing in 1557, does not deal with Jacob's period of service with Laban.

[2] Cf. *sup.*, p. 27.

& Graeca.' By the vernacular he may mean his mother-tongue as well as English, but in the passage that follows he is probably referring chiefly to Cambridge academic plays:

'Extant nũc aliquot non poenitendae huius generis comoediae & tragoedię, in quibus, etiãsi docti mundi huius desiderent in comoedijs illud acumen, eumq́; leporem, & sermonis venustatem, quem admirantur in Aristophanis, Terentij, Plautiq́; fabulis: in tragoedijs, grauitatem, versutiam, orationisq́; elegantiam Sophoclis, Euripidis, Senecę; docti tamen ad regnum Dei, & qui viuendi Deo sapientiam discere student, non desiderant in his nostrorum hominum poematis doctrinam coelestem, affectus, mores, orationem, casusq́; dignos filijs Dei.'

Nothing could be more typical of the attitude of the group of humanists to which Bucer belonged than this contrast between the children of this world who are not satisfied unless they find in comedies and tragedies the qualities that they have learnt to appreciate in the great classical exemplars, and the children of light who merely look to them for edifying lessons suitable to those whose conversation is in heaven. Hence he ends with a warning to his contemporaries to think more of the religious influence of their plays than of their artistic merits or even their educational stimulus:

'Optandum tamen, vt quibus Deus plus dedit in his rebus praestare, vt id mallẽt ad eius gloriam explicare, quàm aliorum pia studia intempestiuis reprehensionibus suis retardare: atque ducere satius, comoedias atque tragoedias exhibere, quibus si minus ars poetica, scientia tamen vitae aeternae praeclare exhibetur, quàm quibus vt ingenij linguaeq́ue cultus aliquid iuuatur, ita animus & mores impia atque foeda & scurrili mutatione conspurcantur.'

It is obvious that on the conditions formulated by Bucer academic drama would have been stunted at a critical period of its development. The position which he took up could not furnish a basis for future growth. It was abandoned, as will be seen, later in the sixteenth century both by the supporters and the opponents of University plays. It was merely a pious dream that societies, which even while Bucer was writing *De Regno Christi* were expanding and systematizing the revels associated with the mediaeval lord of misrule, and were drinking deep of the intoxicating mundane spirit of

Tudor England, would be content to cramp their dramatic activities within the theological limits that he sought to prescribe. The academic Puritans of the next generation showed a truer appreciation of the issues at stąke, when they attempted to prohibit entirely dramatic performances at the Universities.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY ACADEMIC COMEDY

IT is regrettable, though not surprising, that the texts of very few pre-Elizabethan University comedies are extant, or, if so, can be identified. Academic drama in its earlier course belies the Baconian aphorism that 'Fame is like a River, that beareth up Things Light and Swolne, and Drownes Things waighty and Solide'. Some of the 'weighty and solid' tragedies were thought worthy of preservation in print or manuscript for the lessons they conveyed. But the 'light and swollen' comedies, written frankly for entertainment, were thrown aside when they had served their turn, and if they ever found their way into print did so more or less fortuitously, and without any indication of their academic origin.

Thus, among the vernacular pieces of which a record remains, Grimald's two Oxford comedies have disappeared;[1] so, as far as we know, have 'both the English plaies' acted at Trinity, Cambridge, in 1559-60,[2] which were probably comedies. Nothing survives of the academic dramas in the vulgar tongue to whose existence Bucer bears witness at Cambridge in 1550. It is only from an incidental local allusion that we learn, as has been seen,[3] that *Thersites* is an Oxford play. Other adaptations, of a more frankly didactic type, from classic or neo-classic comedy were well suited for representation on College stages. Such are *The Disobedient Child*, already mentioned,[4] and *Jacke Jugeler*, written probably during the reign of Mary by a Protestant zealot who turned the Plautine confusion of identity in *Amphitruo* into an attack upon transubstantiation. But we have no proof that they were of University origin; they may equally well have been performed by schoolboys.

[1] *supra*, p. 32.
[2] Moore Smith, *loc. cit.*, 269.
[3] *supra*, p. 20.
[4] *supra*, p. 19.

Nor are we more fortunate in respect of the early Latin comedies by Oxford and Cambridge scholars, though it might have been expected that greater care would be taken to preserve these products of contemporary scholarship than the vernacular pieces. No trace remains of Hoker's *Piscator*[1] or Grimald's *Fama* or *Athanasius*[2] at Oxford, of Artour's *Microcosmus* or *Mundus plumbeus*,[3] Robinson's *Strylius*,[4] or the Trinity *Crumenaria*[5] at Cambridge.

It would, therefore, have been a satisfaction to be able to identify as undoubtedly of University origin two Latin plays of this period preserved in manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge. But, as is shown more fully later,[6] though they belong to academic drama in the wider sense, there is nothing to prove that their author, Ralph Worsley, was at Oxford or Cambridge. The plays are respectively prose and verse adaptations of Caxton's *Historye of Reynart the foxe*, and are both entitled *Synedrium Id Est Consessus Animalium*. The prose play appears to be a preliminary sketch for the much more elaborate metrical version, which was apparently begun on November 14, 1553, and was finished on February 27, 1554 (i. e. probably 1554/5). Though it could scarcely have been intended for performance, it shows that Worsley had an eye for characterization, and a genuine gift of plot-construction. Whatever may have been his aim in engaging upon his formidable task—the verse play alone is more than 5,000 lines in length—his work is of interest as one of the few contributions made in England to beast-drama. And interpreting, as it does, the history of Reynard in terms of Roman comedy, it forms a peculiar link between the literature of mediaevalism and of the Renaissance.

Another comedy, 'played on Stage ... in Christes Colledge in Cambridge', was undoubtedly influenced by the story of the Fox. Whoever may have been the author of *Gammer Gurtons Nedle*—a problem best discussed after the play has been examined—he was thoroughly familiar with the escapades and wiles of Reynard.

[1] *supra*, p. 21. [2] *supra*, p. 32. [3] *supra*, p. 12.
[4] *supra*, p. 22. [5] *supra*, p. 22. [6] See Appendix II.

In Act V. ii. 231–3[1] Diccon says of Dr. Rat, the curate,

> The cat was not so madly alured by the foxe
> To run into the snares was set for him, doubtlesse:
> For he leapt in for myce, and this Sir John for madnes.[2]

And Dame Chat cries out against—

> a false theefe
> That came like a false foxe my pullaine to kil and mischeefe!

In this comedy of English village life the animals do not speak as in Caxton's *Historye* or in Worsley's play, but their place in the social economy is scarcely inferior to that of their masters. Thus Hodge, Gammer Gurton's farm-hand, says of her cat (III. iv. 6–8),

> ich know thars not within this land
> A muryner cat then Gyb is, betwixt the Tems and Tyne;
> Shase as much wyt in her head almost as chave in mine!

And when Diccon is bound over at the end of the play to conduct himself well to all the community, it is one of the articles that he is 'to be of good abering to Gib' the Gammer's 'great cat'. When Tom Tankard's cow is seen to 'set up her saile' and fly 'about his halfe aker fysking with her taile', it is a portent of mischief brewing. And for the Gammer's 'browne cow' 'to cast hir calfe' or her 'sandy sowe her pigs', or for Dame Chat's hen-roost to be rifled, is felt to be a far weightier event than anything that could betide Tyb and Doll, the maids, or Cocke the boy.

By giving his story such a farmyard setting, and by making the plot hinge upon the loss of a needle, the author has tended to lead astray all but the most careful readers. His piece

[1] To facilitate reference I have quoted from the reprint of the play by Dr. Henry Bradley in C. M. Gayley's *Representative English Comedies* (1903).

[2] This connexion between *G. G. N.*, and the Reynard story struck me in turning from *Synedrium Animalium* to the English comedy. I have since then noticed that Mr. J. H. Hanford of Harvard indicated in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxv, 81 (March, 1910), Caxton's work as the source of 'the intrusion of Dr. Rat into the house of Dame Chatte and his warm reception'. He instances as a parallel the episode in Caxton's *Historye*, I, cap. xii, 26 ff., where the fox induces the wolf to creep through a 'faldore' in search of hens. But the lines that I have quoted show that the author of *G. G. N.* was thinking chiefly of the incident of the cat being tempted to venture into the priest's 'gryn'.

seems at first sight to be merely rustic cackle about a grotesquely trivial incident, and to be singularly unsuited to an academic stage. But on close scrutiny it will be seen that the playwright was complete master of his material, and that to Heywood's gift of *genre*-painting he united powers of plot-construction within the limits of the Unities which he must have learnt from the classical dramatists.

Whoever he was, and at whatever date he wrote, the atmosphere that he creates throughout is that of an isolated village in the pre-Reformation period. In the Prologue, Dame Chat is said to know no more about the lost needle—

'Then knoeth Tom, our clarke, what the priest saith at masse',

The characters swear 'by the masse', 'by Gogs sacrament', 'by Gogs bread', 'Cocks mother dere', and similar oaths. Appeals are made to God and good Saint Sithe, to Saint 'Benit', to—

our dere Lady of Bullaine,
Saint Dunstone and Saint Donnyke, with the three Kings of Kullaine,

and to 'all hallowes'; while Gammer Gurton vows to God and 'to good Saint Anne' that if she finds her needle,

'A candell shall they have apeece, get it where I can.'

And to express a certainty Diccon uses the phrase 'as sure as is your crede', the typical utterance of an era of orthodoxy.

With the atmosphere of Catholicism in the play is blended naturally that of belief in the supernatural in varied forms. Diccon declares that the Gammer and her maid sit as still as stones,

'As though they had been taken with fairies or els with some il sprite.'

And Hodge blesses himself before entering the house, for fear 'some felon spirit may haunt it'. He is terror-stricken when Diccon draws a circle round him, and proceeds to conjure up 'the mayster devill with his long powes'. He dare not stay to face him, yet can describe him glibly enough afterwards to the Gammer (III. ii. 18–22):

Saw ye never Fryer Rushe
Painted on a cloth, with a side long cowes tayle,
And crooked cloven feete, and many a hoked nayle;
For al the world, if I shuld judg, I should recken him his brother.

This superstitious, hard-driven, ill-fed, coarse-tongued but cheery yokel is the best observed figure in the play, and gives the impression of having been drawn from life. The whole household, in his eyes, depends upon him alone (I. iv. 25–8):

Cham faine abrode to dyg and delve in water, myre, and claye,
Sossing and possing in the durte styll from daye to daye.
A hundred thinges that be abrode, cham set to see them weele,
And four of you syt idle at home, and can not keepe a neele!

And for all his toil, if the cat has lapped up his milke, and a thief has gone off with the bacon, he gets only a 'piece of dry horsbread'.[1] Yet he comes lustily to his mistress's aid with his staff when she is being worsted by Dame Chat, and he is honest of hand and true of tongue. When he is charged with robbing Dame Chat's hen-roost, he bursts forth indignantly 'chold not dot for a house ful of gold', and when he finds that Diccon has made false promises, he roundly calls him 'thou lier'. If his speech and behaviour are often nakedly primitive, this is a further sign that he is drawn at first-hand, and is an early proof—there are many later ones—that academic eyes and ears were no more fastidious than those of London courtiers or prentices.

Of Hodge's superiors and their ways of life the dramatist gives briefer but equally clear glimpses. Gammer Gurton, sitting at her cottage door on her 'pes' or hassock, clapping a clout on Hodge's breeches, and suddenly spying the cat in the milk-pan; her neighbour Dame Chat 'fast set at trumpe ... hard by the fyre' with Sym Glover's wife; doctor Rat,

[1] Hodge's realistic description of his hunger-pangs contains what seems to be a local allusion to the Spitalhouse and the castle at Cambridge, which has not, I believe, been hitherto noted (II. i. 19–22):

'My gutts they yawle-crawle, and all my belly rumbleth;
The puddynges [entrails] cannot lye still, each one over other tumbleth.
By Gogs harte, cham so vexte, and in my belly pende,
Chould one peece were at the spittlehouse, another at the castelle ende!'

the parson, taking his ease in Hob Filcher's house, with a cup of ale in his hand and a 'crab' lying in the fire, and surlily trudging forth at a parishioner's call for fear of losing 'a tythe pyg or a goose'; Master Bayly shrewdly piecing out the truth from excited charges and counter-charges of theft and assault, and tempering justice with greater mercy than the spiritual authority approves—here is the Tudor village-community in action before our eyes.

Curiously enough, the personage who least gives the impression of having been studied from life is the central figure—Diccon the Bedlam. The contemporary accounts of these Bedlam beggars, or 'Abraham men', represent them usually as repellent figures, victims of real or feigned ill-usage, scantily clad and with hair tangled in knots, frightening the country folk by a pretence of madness. The most degraded type of this fraternity has been made familiar to every one by Edgar's impersonation of it in *King Lear*, and by his description of

> Bedlam beggars, who with roaring voices
> Strike in their numb'd and mortified bare arms
> Pins, wooden pricks, nails, sprigs of rosemary:
> And with this horrible object, from low farms,
> Poor pelting villages, sheep-cotes, and mills,
> Sometime with lunatic bans, sometime with prayers,
> Enforce their charity.

Scarcely a word of this fits Diccon. He is indeed a vagabond, living by his wits, and filching here a slip of bacon and there a cup of ale. But so far from inspiring terror or disgust, he is welcomed and trusted by the villagers. Thus Dame Chat, when she sees him at her door, cries:

> 'What, Diccon? Come nere, ye be no strainger,'

and invites him to join in her game of cards. He has, in fact, the plausible tongue, the agility of mind and body, and the love of mischief for its own sake which belong to the Vices of the later Moralities and to Caxton's Reynart in his lighter moods. It is due to his impish delight in setting people by the ears, that Gammer Gurton's loss of her needle, instead of being merely a domestic tragedy, plunges the whole village into tumult and bloodshed.

And with what admirable instinct for the mock-heroic does the playwright develop the imbroglio. The opening speech of Diccon strikes a prelude of mystery. He has seen the Gammer, with her maid and boy, whewling and pewling so sorely that they cannot even tell the cause of their woe. Nor can Hodge in the next scene clear up the matter; he only is sure that the behaviour of Tom Tankard's cow is a portent of some disastrous chance. And when he questions Tyb she will only darkly hint at a calamity far direr than the 'bursting' of the Gammer's 'hucklebone or breaking of her chaire'. Then Hodge's intuition leaps to the awful truth (I. iii. 24–8):

Gogs woundes Tyb! my gammer has never lost her neele?
Tyb. Her neele!
Hodge. Her neele!
Tyb. Her neele!
By him that made me, it is true, Hodge, I telle thee.
Hodge. Gogs sacrament, I would she had lost tharte out of her bellie!
The Devil, or els his dame, they ought her, sure, a shame!

Nothing short of Satanic persecution can account for such a loss, which in the following scenes the gammer bemoans in elegiac strains (I. iv. 2–6, II. v. 8)

This daie that . . .
. . . robd me of my joye,
My fayre long strayght neele, that was myne onely treasure;
The first day of my sorow is, and last end of my pleasure!
. . . . . .
Alas my neele! we shall never meete! adue, adue, for aye!

But the loss of the needle not only blights the life of its mistress; it threatens to cut short a rustic love-idyll. Without it, Hodge's torn breeches cannot be patched, and how then is he to face the lady of his hopes (II. i. 62–4)?

Kirstian Clack, Tom Simpsons maid, by the masse, coms hether to morow,
Cham not able to say, betweene us what may hap;
She smyled on me the last Sunday, when ich put of my cap.

Hence he swears solemnly upon Diccon's breech, in default of a book, to obey him in whatever means he may take of recovering the lost treasure, though when the Bedlam proceeds to raise 'the great devill' he ignominiously turns tail.

Thereupon Diccon sets to work to enlarge the area of trouble by informing Dame Chat, with manifold adjurations to secrecy, that Tyb 'hath tikled in Gammers eare' that the Dame has stolen and eaten 'her goodly faire red cock'. This is balanced by a parallel tale to Gammer Gurton that Dame Chat has picked up the needle outside her gate. Hence results in Act III. iii, the central episode of the play, the Homeric duel of tongues and hands between the two vixens, in which the Gammer would have been worsted but for her auxiliary, Hodge, and his staff. Even so it is a drawn battle, for Hodge is drubbed indoors, and the Gammer now bethinks her of appealing from the secular to the spiritual arm.

When Doctor Rat arrives, Diccon creates bewilderment by going back from his statement that he has seen the needle in Dame Chat's hands. But he offers, if the parson will wait, to go into her house and bring back news of the needle. He takes the opportunity of telling her that Hodge intends to revenge himself for his drubbing by killing all her hens that night, and then persuades Doctor Rat to creep in through a hole in the dark by assuring him that he will 'take the drab with the neele in hir handes'. Thus the parson gets the 'evil dressing' which the Dame means for Hodge, and he goes off in a rage to fetch Master Bayly to 'snaffle these murderers'.

But to his consternation the man of law takes the view that he is the offending party (V. i. 7–10):

> By your owne tale, of all that ye name,
> If any plaid the theefe, you were the very same.
> The women they did nothing, as your words make probation,
> But stoutly withstood your forcible invasion.

It is in vain for Rat to protest:

> 'I am no theefe, sir, but an honest learned clarke.'

The Bayly has an unanswerable retort:

> Yes, but who knoweth that, when he meets you in the dark?
> I am sure your learning shines not out at your nose!

When Dame Chat is interrogated, she not only denies that she has assaulted the parson, but declares that 'for this seven weekes with me I am sure he sat not downe'. She admits

that there was a knave 'who caught one good philup on the brow with a dore bar', but it was that 'crafty cullyon Hodge' who was robbing her hen-roost. But when Hodge is fetched he too not only denies the accusation of thieving, but proves by the incontrovertible evidence of an unbroken head that he was not on Dame Chat's premises. He then counter-charges the Dame with keeping his mistress's 'washical', and at this the Gammer bursts in with a claim for 'a right action' against her. But Dame Chat, who has not till now heard anything about the needle, is chiefly concerned in rebutting the slander, of which the Gammer is equally ignorant, that she has killed and eaten her cock.

As the Bayly sums it up, after listening to their recriminations (v. ii. 156 ff.):

This is the case: you lost your nedle about the doores,
And she answers again she has no cocke of yours;
Thus in your talke and action, from that you do intend
She is whole five mile wide, from that she doth defend.
. . . . . .
I wene the ende will prove this brawle did first arise,
Upon no other ground but only Diccons lyes.

But Dame Chat, in defence of Diccon's veracity, urges that at any rate his warning to her that Hodge would come to rob her hen-roost had proved true. Then at last Doctor Rat realizes how he has been beguiled by the Bedlam, and tells the whole tale of his adventure in 'the backe hole'. Diccon is sent for by the Bayly, and is greeted by a chorus of execration from his victims (v. ii. 207–9):

Chat. Fie on the villaine, fie, fie! that makes us thus agree!
Gammer. Fie on him, knave, with all my hart! now fie! and fie againe!
D. Rat. Now 'fie on him!' may I best say, whom he hath almost slaine.

But the Bayly's clemency and sense of humour lead him to impose only a burlesque penalty, the conditions of which Diccon has to swear to observe by laying his hand upon Hodge's breech. And then comes the climax of the many surprises in the play. As Diccon smites Hodge behind, he gives a shriek of pain and then an exclamation of delight (v. ii. 300 ff.):

Hodge. Chave it, by the masse, Gammer!
Gam. What? not my neele, Hodge?
Hodge. Your neele, Gammer! your neele! . . .
Chwas almost undone, twas so far in my buttocke!
Gam. Tis mine owne deare neele, Hodge, sykerly I wot!
Hodge. 'Cham I not a good sonne, Gammer, cham I not?
Gam. Christs blessing light on thee, hast made me for ever!

Thus the solution of the whole entanglement gives the crowning touch of absurdity, the needle has never really gone astray. It is only on minute analysis that the deftness of construction that marks the play throughout is realized. The episodes spring naturally out of one another, and, what is very rare in vernacular plays of the period, there is the strictest economy of dialogue. There is not a line that does not help forward the action of the piece. Moreover, the playwright is an adept in the manipulation of metre and language. The 'fourteener', which forms the staple verse of the comedy, is turned to a variety of uses. It serves for descriptive and narrative passages, for στιχομυθία, for lines broken between two or three speakers. In spite of its cumbrous character, it is made to yield special effects. Thus Hodge's excitement, when Diccon offers to get back the needle, is shown in the massing of alliterative monosyllables (II. i. 55–6);

Chyll runne, chyll ryde, chyll dygge, chyll delve, chill toyle, chill trudge, shalt see;
Chill hold, chil drawe, chil pull, chill pynche, chill kneele on my bare knee.

And in the 'flyting' between the two dames the insults they hurl at each other are accentuated by internal rhymes (III. iii. 25–6):

Gam. Thou slut, thou kut, thou rakes, thou jakes! will not shame make the hide the?
Chat. Thou skald, thou bald, thou rotten, thou glotton! I will no longer chyd the.

In other passages, such as the mock conjuration scene which ends Act I and Hodge's narrative to Doctor Rat (III. ii. 5–28), stanzaic arrangement is introduced with burlesque effect, while the choice of 'Backe and syde go bare, go bare' to open Act II, shows that the playwright had an ear for a first-rate song. The talk of the country-folk is discriminated from that of the curate and the Bayly, and even of the Bedlam, who is probably

supposed to be by origin a townsman, by the use of the South-western dialectical forms which became the rustic convention in Elizabethan literature. Thus 'iche' takes the place of 'I', and 'cham, chave, chill', and their cognates, of 'I am', 'I have', 'I will', and the like. But the forms are neither entirely correct nor consistent. 'Cham' is wrongly made to stand for 'am' as well as 'I am'; initial 'f' is usually retained, as in 'for' and 'fox', but it is occasionally replaced by 'v', as in 'vylthy', 'vast' for 'fast', and 'vathers'; initial 's' is never converted into 'z'.

Apart from these dialectical forms the vocabulary of the villagers presents peculiarities. It contains a large number of archaic and unusual phrases. Gammer Gurton has fewer of these on her lips than Dame Chat, but she speaks of 'roking'[1] in ashes, and of her 'tossing sporyars neele'.[2] Her neighbour is free with such vituperative terms as 'a begars brawle',[3] and 'old tarlether',[4] and uses 'halse' for 'neck', and 'smolders' for 'smothers'. Hodge's language is even richer in uncommon words, as 'prancome',[5] 'sossing and possing',[6] 'fidging',[7] 'yawle-crawle',[8] 'powpt',[9] 'bonable',[10] 'glomming',[11] 'muryner',[12] 'washical'.[13] His fellow servant, Tyb, speaks of her mistress's 'pes',[14] and is ready to do her bidding 'swythe and tyte'.[15]

'Pes' is an East-Anglian word, but 'roking', 'brawle', 'halse', 'sossing and possing' are Northern, and it may be broadly said that the vocabulary of the peasants in the play is predominantly Northern. But 'yawle-crawle', 'bonable', and 'washical' seem to be nonce-words, and the Northern phrases are combined, as has been seen, with inaccurate South-western

[1] Scratching with a pointed instrument, I. iv. 11.
[2] Dr. Bradley explains this as 'first-rate spurrier's needle', II. iv. 10.
[3] Brat, II. ii. 28.
[4] Strip of dried sheep-skin, III. i. 48.
[5] Freak, I. ii. 28.
[6] Tramping and splashing, I. iv. 26.
[7] Restlessly moving, I. iv. 26.
[8] An onomatopoeic compound, II. i. 19.
[9] Deceived, II. i. 37.
[10] Abominable (?), III. ii. 10.
[11] Looking glum, III. iii. 80.
[12] Plaguier, III. iv. 7.
[13] What shall I call (it), V. ii. 116.
[14] Hassock, I. iii. 29.
[15] Quickly and promptly, I. iv. 13.

dialectical forms. It may, therefore, be safely affirmed that the village community in *Gammer Gurtons Nedle* does not use 'a selection of the language really spoken by men' in any district of Tudor England.[1] Hence the philological evidence is of little help in determining the *provenance* of the play. If its authorship is to be established, it must be upon external grounds.

The title-page of the only extant edition of the play describes it as 'A Ryght Pithy Pleasaunt and merie Comedie: Intytuled *Gammer gurtons Nedle*: Played on Stage, not longe ago in Christes Colledge in Cambridge. Made by Mr. S. Mr. of Art', and the colophon is 'Imprinted at London, in Fleetestreate . . . by Thomas Colwell 1575'. But in the Stationers' Register there is an entry for the year ending 22 July, 1563, of a payment by Thomas Colwell of 4*d.* for licence to print a play entitled *Dyccon of Bedlam*. This is probably *Gammer Gurtons Nedle* under another name. Though no edition appears to have been published in 1562–3, there is bibliographical evidence, as Dr. Henry Bradley has pointed out, suggesting that the work was printed, though not issued, about that date.[2] In any case, the entry in the register indicates that the play belongs, at the latest, to the opening years of Elizabeth's reign.

Internal evidence suggests, at first sight, a considerably earlier date. In Act V. ii. 236, Rat bids the Bayly set Diccon fast

[1] But though the author thus uses a medley of dialectical words and forms, he is careful to confine them to the villagers. Though Diccon uses some rare words, e. g. 'daintrels' and 'bodelouce', they are not dialectical. An exhaustive philological examination of the play is needed.

[2] 'The title-page of the edition of 1575 speaks of the representation at Cambridge as having taken place "not long ago". But Colwell had had the MS. in his possession ever since 1563; and there is nothing unlikely in the supposition that the wording of the original title-page was retained without any other alteration than the change in the name of the piece. . . . The appearance of the title-page suggests the possibility that it may have been altered after being set up. *Gammer gur* | *tons Nedle* in small italic may have been substituted for **Diccon of** | **Bedlam** in type as large as that of the other words in the same lines. In Colwell's edition of Ingelend's *Disobedient Child* (printed 1560) the title-page has the same woodcut border, but the name of the piece is in type of the same size as that of the preceding and following words. As this woodcut does not occur in any other of Colwell's publications now extant, it seems reasonable to infer that *Gammer Gurton* was printed long before 1575.' (In Gayley's *Rep. Eng. Comedies*, p. 199.)

A Ryght
Pithy, Pleasaunt and me
rie Comedie: In-
tytuled Gammer gur-
tons Nedle: Played on
Stage, not longe
ago in Chri-
stes
Colledge in Cambridge.

Made by Mr. S. Mr. of Art.

Imprynted at London in
Flete strete beneth the Con-
duit at the signe of S. John
Evangelist by Tho-
mas Colwell.

1575.

'in the Kings name But a play which has an atmosphere of orthodox Roman Catholicism, untinged by controversy, is not likely to belong to Edward VI's reign, and it would therefore seem as if it must date from before the death of Henry VIII in 1547.[1] It may be, however, that the reference to the King and the orthodox atmosphere are pieces of literary artifice from which no conclusions about date can be drawn. This problem is involved with that of authorship.

As the play was acted at Christ's College, and as it was 'Made by Mr. S. Mr. of Art', the attempt has naturally been made to identify the writer as a Christ's man in residence between Elizabeth's accession and 1575. Isaac Reed, in his *Biographica Dramatica*, 1782 (an enlarged edition of Baker's *Dictionary of the Stage*), attributed the play to John Still, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, because he found that the latest reference to a play in the College account-books, previous to 1575, was at Christmas, 1567, when 20*d.* was paid 'for the Carpenters setting upp the scaffold at the Plaie', and because he thought, incorrectly, that John Still was the only Master of Arts of Christ's then living whose name began with S. Everything that is known about Still makes it in the highest degree unlikely that he was the writer of a comedy, apart from the fact that, as Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1592, he wrote to Lord Burghley, 'Englishe Comedies, for that wee never used any, wee presentlie have none'. It is inconceivable that the author of *Gammer Gurtons Nedle* should have put his signature to such words.[2]

A more plausible claim has recently been made by Dr. Henry Bradley for another Christ's man, William Stevenson,[3] who was born at Hunwick in Durham, matriculated in November 1546, proceeded B.A. in 1549/50, M.A.

[1] This view has been incisively set forth by M. Jusserand, *Le Théâtre en Angleterre* (1881), 180–1, note: 'Le ton est absolument celui qu'on avait au temps de Henri VIII . . . [La] pièce a été composée, sans doute, au temps où la Réforme n'avait pas encore prévalu; peut-être fut-elle retouchée légèrement avant d'être jouée en 1566.' Whatever the date of the piece may have been, the internal evidence is against the theory of 'retouching'. It makes throughout the impression of having been cast in a single mould.

[2] For a full statement of the case against Still see C. H. Ross, 'The Authorship of *Gammer Gurtons Nedle*,' *Anglia*, xix. 306–11.

[3] *op. cit.*, 197–9.

in 1553, and B.D. in 1560. He was a Fellow of the College from 1551 to Christmas 1554, and during this period took a leading part in its dramatic activities. In 1550/1 23*d.* is entered in the account as 'allowed to Sir[1] Stephenson at his play setting furth'. In 1551–2 12*d.* was spent 'upon the yōg mē y^t^ toke pains in S. Stephensons play'. In 1552–3 18*d.* was 'laid out by Sir Stephenson for his plaies'. In 1553–4 Mr. Stephenson expended 'at setting furth of his plaie on y^e^ waites ii*s.* on y^e^ plaiers xii^d^ for coales vi^d^'. This is probably the last entry concerning the plays set forth by William Stevenson, who seems to have been installed as prebendary of Durham in 1560/1, and who died in 1575.

But there was soon afterwards another Fellow of Christ's called Stevenson, who held office from Christmas 1559 to Lady Day 1561. This was probably Richard Stevenson, who had proceeded B.A. in 1557/8. He is probably referred to in an entry for 1559–60 'spent at M^r^ Stevēsonne play . . . v^s^'.

Even if all the entries refer to William Stevenson, it is essential to remember that he appears in the accounts not as a writer, but as a presenter of plays. As College dramatists received no fees, bursars had no concern with them as such. The accounts do not prove that Stevenson 'made' plays, though they show that he was active in staging them.[2] There is therefore not sufficient justification, in default of further evidence, for attributing *Gammer Gurtons Nedle* to his pen.

Such evidence as does exist, apart from the title-page of the quarto, points to a better-known figure as author of the comedy, though his name does not begin with S., and he was

[1] 'Sir' (*dominus*) is prefixed to the name of a Bachelor of Arts.

[2] Hence, even if William Stevenson wrote *G. G. N.*, Dr. Bradley is mistaken in saying that he 'appears in the bursar's accounts as the author of a play acted in the year 1553/4'. But he rightly points out that this play was probably 'in English, for the accounts speak of a Latin play (managed by another Fellow named Persevall) as having been performed in the same year'. It is worth noting that in connexion with this performance, which was 'in Christmas', Persevall 'laid oute . . . to M^r^. Stephenson' 9*d.* for 'aqua vitae et cetera'.

When Dr. Bradley wrote his introductory essay to the play (1903) he adopted the earlier view of Dr. Peile, in his history of Christ's College (1900), that William Stevenson had probably been re-elected to his Fellowship after the death of Queen Mary, and that therefore the entry of 1559–60 referred to him. But in his *Biographical Register of Christ's College*, i. 40 and 55 (1910), Dr. Peile supplied the *data* about Richard Stevenson given above.

not a member of Christ's College. This is John Bridges, who seems to have been a Londoner by birth, matriculated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, proceeded B.A. in 1556 and M.A. in 1560, was appointed Dean of Salisbury in 1577, Bishop of Oxford in 1603/4, and died in 1618.

Bridges was a man of varied literary accomplishments. He is said to have translated three of Machiavelli's *Discourses* in 1558, and there is extant a version by him of Rudolph Walther's Latin *Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles* (1572). In the previous year he had issued in revised and augmented form *A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse on the Monday in Whitsun weeke Anno Domini 1571*. This was a controversial treatise against the Romanists, as was also his *Supremacie of Christian Princes* (1573). His most elaborate polemical volume, *A Defence of the Government established in the Church of Englande for Ecclesiasticall Matters*, was directed against the Puritans, and produced in answer the first two Martin Marprelate tracts—*The Epistle*, and *The Epitome*. In the former Martin states that he had written 'a sheete in rime of all the names attributed unto the Lorde in the Bible'. This is not extant, but we have a later metrical experiment by Bridges, *Novum Testamentum in Hexametros versus translatum* (1604). Sir John Harington (*Nugae Antiquae*, II. 201) speaks of him as a man 'whose volumes in prose and verse give sufficient testimonie of his industrie'.

Joseph Hunter, in 1848, in his *Chorus Vatum* (B.M. Addit. MSS. 24487, f. 34) was the first to call attention to a contemporary attribution of *Gammer Gurtons Nedle* to Bridges. Martin, in *The Epistle*[1] (1588) thus addresses him:

'You have bin a worthy writer as they say of a long time, your first book was a proper Enterlude, called Gammer Gurtons needle. But I think that this trifle, which sheweth the author to haue had some witte and invention in him, was none of your doing: Because your bookes seeme to proceede from the braynes of a woodcocke as hauing neyther wit nor learning.'

This shows that Bridges was generally reputed to be the writer of the play, and though Martin affects to doubt this,

[1] P. 13 in Petheram's reprint (1842).

it is merely because he wishes to deny him the credit of so amusing a work. Moreover, as Mr. C. H. Ross has pointed out,[1] if Martin had really disbelieved in Bridges's authorship, he would not in *The Epitome*, issued within a month or two of *The Epistle* and also addressed to the Dean, have made two further references to the play.[2]

'Let me take you againe in such a pranck, and ile course you, as you were better to be seeking Gammer Gurtons needle, then come within my fingers.'

And with reference to a statement by Bridges that Anthony among the papists had the gift of tongues without study, Martin writes[3]—

'Now what a goodyeare was that Anthonie: The god of pigs trow ye? In deed master D[octor] quoteth no author for his warrant, he is redd you know in the Legend of lies. There it is: what haue the puritans to doe where he found it? Let thē answer to it. What if he founde it in Hodge his breeches, seeking for Gammer Gurtons needle?'

And there is further the indented annotation, 'There is a book of this name, which M. doctor made as they say. *M. D. found Anthonie in Hodges breeches*'. Here, again, Martin states that Bridges was the commonly accepted author of the play.[4]

A closer examination of the evidence than has hitherto been made goes a very long way to support the contemporary belief. With regard to the 'Mr. S.' of the title-page, Hunter suggested that it 'might be a blind or a mistake, of the original publishers'. Possibly, after his ordination Bridges did not wish his name to appear on the title-page of so free-spoken a comedy. 'S.' may have been chosen as its last letter. But in any case, and this fact has not hitherto been duly weighed, the belief in his authorship was commonly held thirteen years after the edition with 'Mr. S.' on the title-page had been before

[1] *loc. cit.*, 314. Mr. Ross deserves the credit of having been the first to advocate definitely Bridges's authorship of the play. But he has not seen the full evidential significance of Martin's allusions.

[2] *op. cit.*, 26. [3] *op. cit.*, 35.

[4] Petheram has a confused note, in which he absurdly takes the marginal annotation to refer to 'the Legend of lies'.

the world. Nor did Martin, who had obviously read the book, and whose cue it was to attribute it elsewhere, make any use of the title-page as an argument.

The fact that Bridges was a member of Pembroke, and not of Christ's, is not so serious a difficulty as it appears at first sight. The title-page does not state that 'Mr. S.' belonged to Christ's, but merely that the comedy was played there. While most College plays, apart from revivals of classical or humanist dramas, were written by members of the societies in whose halls they were performed, there are exceptions. Thus when Thomas Legge was Master of Gonville and Caius, his *Richardus Tertius* was performed at St. John's. Pembroke does not seem to have been a centre of theatrical activity, and a member of that College who had written a play might well have had it performed at Christ's. Bridges's period of residence after proceeding B.A. in 1556 accords well with the entry of Colwell's license for printing *Dyccon of Bedlam* in 1562–3.

It is essential, in weighing the value of Martin's statement about the general belief in Bridges's authorship, to notice that it is no incidental allusion, but part of a systematic, though short, sketch of his literary career. In the passage already quoted from *The Epistle*, Martin, after declaring that Bridges has been 'a worthy writer as they say for a long time', specifies *Gammer Gurtons Nedle* as his 'first book'. He then continues:

> 'Secondly, you have to your mediocritie written against the Papists: And since that time you have written a sheete in rime of all the names attributed unto the Lorde in the Bible, a worthy monument: what hath the hedge priest my brother written anye more? O is, I crye him mercy, he hath written this great volume which now I haue in hand against his brethren.'

The 'sheete in rime' has disappeared, but *Gammer Gurtons Nedle*, *A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse*, *The Supremacie of Christian Princes*, and *A Defence of the Government established in the Churche of England* are all extant to prove that Martin's summary is accurate, though his critical faculty, warped by religious prejudice, is at fault. For it is quite untrue to say of Bridges's polemical treatises

that they have 'neyther wit nor learning'. One of their most striking features is their wealth of homely illustration and racy vernacular.

This is especially the case with *A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse*, which, dating from 1571, is nearest in time of composition to the play. Even to the discussion of the most solemn subjects Bridges gives a humorous and dramatic turn by his use of colloquialisms, popular saws, and sudden apostrophes to his opponents or the reader. Thus, on the question of salvation he writes (p. 74):

'And shal we now say that of dutie we deserue heuen or deserue some part of our saluation of dutie, and that God is in our debt? This were Jacke sauce in dede, to claime debt of God. . . . Ha subtle fool, Sim Suttle deceued himself. Thinkest thou thus to mock God?'

Again, of the necessity of resisting temptation in its first stage (p. 80):

'The diuel will not be contente with a little, graūt him neuer so litle in the beginning, as good giue him all, for in the ende he will striue to have all, giue him an inche, hee will take an ell: giue him but his little toe, he will thrust his foote, his leg, his body after, and seuen diuels more for company.'

In rebuking the greedy tradesmen who force their apprentices to cheat to increase their profits, he gives a sketch of citizen life as realistic as the rustic portraits in the comedy (p. 100):

'Tushe a poynt, sayeth his mayster, that fingreth the gaine . . . Sweare (hooreson) and forsweare, bewray not my mistery.'

'Our common prouerbes', as he calls them, are scattered over his pages:

'It is a deare colup is cut out of the owne flesh: Neare is my coate, but nearer is my shirt. . . . Soon crookes the tree that good camocke will bee. It soon prickes wil be a thorne: the yong cockrel will learne easily to crow as he heareth the old cocke.'

He is peculiarly fond of using illustrations from animal life, as in the following passage (p. 86):

'A yong cubbe can play pretily like a litle whelpe, it will not bite, the henne may goe by it, it will not hurte one chick.

O it is a pretie foole, Alack who woulde kill it? but for all that kill it say I, else it will kill chicken, hen, cock and all, and it may come by them.'

This might well be from the same hand that penned the episode of Dame Chat and her hen-roost, and there are further some noteworthy verbal coincidences. Bridges gives a twofold translation of 'Latet anguis in herba', 'There is a snake in the grasse, a padde in the strawe'.

In *Gammer Gurtons Nedle*, when Hodge delays his appearance before the Bayly, Dame Chat exclaims (v. ii. 83):

'But ye perceive by this lingring there is a pad in the straw.'

And in warning parents not to spare the rod, Bridges bids them (p. 103):

'Remember the Fable of the chylde that bitte his mothers nose, when hee went to hanging, bicause she would not bite his breche with a good rod, when he went to filching.'

A kindred use of 'bite' occurs when Diccon drives the needle into Hodge (v. ii. 293–5):

Hodge. Gogs hart, thou false villaine, dost thou bite me?
Bayly. What Hodge, doth he hurt thee or ever he begin?
Hodge. He thrust me into the buttocke with a bodkin or a pin.

If there is a strain of irony in the conversion of a sermon into evidence for the authorship of a free-spoken comedy, this would have appealed to the impish humour of the writer of *Gammer Gurtons Nedle* himself. Though absolute certainty cannot be reached, Bridges has a far stronger claim on the play than any one else. There remains, indeed, in his case, as in that of Stevenson, or indeed of any one writing after the breach with Rome, the problem of how to account for the religious atmosphere of the play, combined with the reference to arrest 'in the Kings name'. But the man who could wield his materials so skilfully can have had no real difficulty in reproducing the background of Heywood's interludes, to which *Gammer Gurtons Nedle* is akin in its verse and pungency, though its plot construction has been learnt in a different school. In any case, the comedy marks the close of a period in academic drama. Little more

than a year after the entry of *Dyccon of Bedlam* in the Stationers' Register, in August 1564, Queen Elizabeth paid a visit to Cambridge, followed in September, 1566, by one to Oxford. These visits mark a new epoch in the annals of the University stage, though the change is not in the character of the plays, but in the circumstances of their presentation.

CHAPTER V

QUEEN ELIZABETH AT CAMBRIDGE (1564) AND AT OXFORD (1566)

TILL the early years of Elizabeth's reign the performances of College plays appear to have been always of a private character. They were for the amusement of the students themselves, and each academical society bore the expenses of its own productions. But the stimulus given to all forms of dramatic activity by the accession of a queen with a hereditary passion for theatrical entertainments soon extended to the University stage. The amateur playwrights and actors by the Cam and the Isis suddenly found the formidable task thrust upon them of providing diversion for the sovereign and the highest personages of the land.

Though the Colleges had spent money freely upon their private entertainments, they would have found it impossible from their own resources to vie with the splendour of the spectacular productions at the Court. But in their preparations the academic authorities had the help of the Offices of the Revels and the Works.[1] The Office of the Revels had just entered upon the period of its greatest activity. The death of the first Master of the Revels, Sir Thomas Cawerden, in August 1559, had been followed in January 1559/60 by the appointment of Sir Thomas Benger, who held the post till 1572. During his administration the sums spent upon theatrical performances at Court mounted rapidly. Under Cawerden the average annual cost had been from £120 to £150; it now rose to a minimum of £300, was usually over £500, and in 1571–2 fell little short of £1,600.[2] These sums were not confined to expenditure on theatrical productions before the Queen in the capital. For in an abstract of the total

[1] The University stage and the Revels Office had, however, already been brought into connexion. Prof. Feuillerat has recently discovered in the Record Office an application to the Revels Office during Mary's reign by Sir Robert Rochester, the Controller of the Household, for the loan of theatrical apparel to 'the felloȳs and scholars of the newe colledge Oxford', who wished to perform 'a lernyd Tragedye' at Christmas. See further *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, ix. i. 96–7.

[2] Feuillerat, *Le Bureau des Menus-Plaisirs* (1910), 33–4.

payments of the Revels Office from Christmas 1559 to April 13, 1567, 'The Progresse' is entered as 'ciiij vi^{li}. vij^{s}. xx xj^{d}. *ob.*', and another document proves that this was the Progress of 1566, which included the visit to Oxford.[1]

The excitement aroused by the two visits is evidenced by the numerous contemporary records that are still extant. The chief account of the Cambridge festivities is in English, and is from the pen of Matthew Stokys, the University Registrary.[2] There is also a shorter anonymous English narrative.[3] A description of the visit, entitled *Regina Literata*, was written in Latin elegiacs by Abraham Hartwell of King's College,[4] and another in Latin prose by Nicholas Robinson, Fellow of Queens', who called it *Commentarii Hexaemeri Rerum Cantabrigiae actarum*.[5] Robinson, who was himself a dramatist,[6] afterwards wrote one of the accounts of the royal visit to Oxford, which are even more numerous and detailed than those relating to Cambridge. All these accounts are of special importance, not only for the history of the Universities and the academic drama, but as the earliest group of documents by eyewitnesses, giving details of Elizabethan stage methods.

The Registrary's account must form the basis of any description of the Cambridge entertainments, supplemented from the other sources. Official notification of the Queen's proposed visit was given to the Vice-Chancellor, Edward Hawford, Master of Christ's College, in a letter dated 12 July, from Sir William Cecil, the Chancellor of the University, and the chief Secretary of State. Three days later Grindal,

[1] Feuillerat, *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels* (1908), 109 and 118.

[2] It forms ff. 63^{a} to 79^{b} of a quarto manuscript book chiefly in Stokys's handwriting. The narrative is in his hand, and is signed 'Scripta p. Matth. Stokys, Bedell'. It is transcribed by Cole (B.M. Addit. MSS. 5845, ff. 377–92). Peck printed the narrative from another transcript in his *Desiderata Curiosa*, ii. 259–75, and wrongly assigned it to Nicholas Robinson. Reprinted by Nichols in *Progresses of Elizabeth*, i. (1788) and (1823) i. 151–82.

[3] Printed by Nichols in *Progresses of Elizabeth*, iii. 175–80 (1805) and i. 183–9 (1823). The MS. is in the Cambridge University Library, Ff. v. 14, ff. 87–94.

[4] Printed by W. Seres (1565). Reprinted by Nichols in *Progresses of Elizabeth*, i (1788). Not reprinted in the edition of 1823.

[5] Printed by Nichols in *Progresses of Elizabeth*, iii. 27–174 (1805). Not reprinted in the edition of 1823.

[6] Cf. *supra*, pp. 21–2.

the Bishop of London, admonished the academic authorities 'to put theimselves in all Redyness to pleasure her M^tie & to welcome her to all Mañer of Scholasticall Exercises; viz. with Sermons bothe in Englishe & Laten; Disputacoñs in all Kynds of Faculties; & playing of Comedies & Tragedies'.

Thereupon, Roger Kelke, D.D., Master of Magdalene College, and Archdeacon of Stowe, was by the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges 'specyallye appoynted to set fourth & to teache suche y^e Playes as should be exhibited before her Grace;[1] unto whom were joyned iiii^or other thought meete for that Charge, chosen out of the iiii^or pryncipall Colledges'.[2]

It was also arranged that the performances should take place at King's College, and 'a great stage' was made in the college hall. 'But by Cause it was judged by diuers to be to lytle, and to close for her Highnes & her Cõpanye, and also to farre from her Lodgynge, it was taken downe.' The hall having thus been found unsuitable, recourse was had to the chapel. There 'was made by her Highnes surveyor & at her own Coste, in the Bodye of the Churche, a gret Stage[3] cõteynyng the Breadth of the Church from thone side unto thother that the Chapells might serve for Houses. In Length it ranne twoe of the loer Chapels full, with the Pillers, On a syde.'

The Surveyor of the Office of Works at this time was Lewis Stocket, who had been appointed in the previous March. In June he had helped in the preparations made at Richmond for the entertainment of the French envoy, the Seigneur de Gonnor, and had received £123 11*s.* 7*d.* 'to paye for the charges of suche workes as were made' on that occasion.[4] How large a part the officers of the Works took in the necessary preliminaries for dramatic performances before the Queen is seen in such an entry as that in the 'Declared

[1] Robinson says that it was the general opinion that Kelke 'esset omnis decoris, gestus, apparatus quasi magister venerandus, quod fuerat sua aetate Roscius alter, ad theatrales lusus satis scite effectus'. He adds, however, that he and his four colleagues were only responsible for two of the four plays prepared. 'Isti Comoediam unam Tragoediamque curarunt, quasi totius Academiae famuli. Alia Spectacula Regalis Collegii alumni sua esse voluerunt.'

[2] These four were: Mr. Broune of Queens', Mr. Legge of Trinity, Mr. Lane of Christ's, and Mr. Smyth of John's.

[3] Robinson calls it 'structura quaedam ex crassioribus asseribus altitudine pedum quinque', p. 59.

[4] Feuillerat, *Documents*, 116 and 447.

Accounts ' of the Office for 1567–70 for the ' newe making and setting vp of Scaffoldes, particions and dores and other necessaries for the Maundayes, Playes, Tragedyes, Maskes, Revelles, and Tryvmphes at diuers and sondry tymes '.[1]

The Registrary's narrative shows that Stocket carried out his labours without any regard to the sacred character of the building. He even ingeniously made use of the side-chapels to serve as the ' houses ' or buildings on the stage, which had in ordinary cases to be ' made of canvas, framed, fashioned, and painted '.

The arrangements for the audience were made in a similar spirit. For Elizabeth herself a place was reserved on the stage[2] by the south wall, upon which ' was hanged a Clothe of State, with the appurtenaunces & Halpace for her Majesty '. ' In the Roode Lofte an other Stage ' was built ' for Ladies and Gentlemen to stand on: And the twoe loer Tables, under the sayed Roode Lofte, were gretlye inlarged & rayled for the cheife officers of the Courte.' No provision was made for the scholars of the University, as they had been ordered, after welcoming the Queen on her arrival, ' quietly & orderlye to departe Home to their Colledges & in no Wyse to come to the Courte, the Disputacoñs, or to the Playes.'

The Queen entered the town on the afternoon of Saturday, August 5, and after being received with great state by the University and municipal officials, took up her residence at the Provost of King's Lodge. No acting took place that evening, but on Sunday night the series of performances arranged in her honour were begun with much ceremonial. ' When all Thynges were redye for the Players, the Lorde

[1] Feuillerat, *Documents*, 452.

[2] Professor Feuillerat thinks that she was seated by the south wall, but not on the stage (*Le Bureau des Menus-Plaisirs*, 73–4). But Stokys says: ' From the Quiere Dore unto the Stage was made as it were a Bridg rayled on bothe sides, for the Quenes Grace to goe to the Stage, which was strayghtlye kepte.' Robinson, after describing the stage, continues ' Ad hanc ex superiori adyto templi munitur via (quae a solo paululum se elevebat) qua Regina aspectantium violentia tuta in excelsius hoc ascenderet aedificium, in quo paratur illi illustrior quidam per gradus quosdam locus tapetibus auro intertextis obductus (quae est regiae Majestatis sedes) ita tamen ut ipsa facile a spectatoribus omnibus conspici posset. Extruuntur etiam aliae sedes pro optimatibus foeminisque clarissimis in eo interstitio quod templum hoc medium secat, aliisque sub hoc intervallo locis oportunis quod in altero Regina sola sedere constituit.'

Chamberleyne with Mr. Secretory cam in, bryngyng a Multitude of the Garde with theim, havyng everye Mã in is Hand a Torche Staffe for the Lightes of the Playe (for no other Lights was occupied), and the Gardes stood upon the Ground, by the Stage Sydes, holding their Lightes.'. . . This method of illumination explains the frequent mention of 'torchbearers' in the Revels accounts. The guard, moreover, were useful in more ways than one, for they 'would not suffre eny to stande upon the Stage, sauyng a veraye fewe upon the North Syde', where they would not obstruct the Queen's view.

Finally, Elizabeth arrived 'with certayne Lordes, Ladies, and Gentlewemẽ', and attended by 'all the Pencioners' with torch-staves. Considering the popularity of Plautus at Cambridge it was natural that one of his plays, the *Aulularia*, should have been chosen for performance on this opening night. It was acted by 'certayne selected' persons whom Dr. Kelke had picked out of all the Colleges, 'King's-colledge being only excepted,' as the shorter English narrative adds. This narrative also mentions that the performance began 'at ix^ne of the clock after supper', and as Stokys states that the Queen 'departed to her Lodgyng about xii of the Clock', the representation must have taken some three hours. It appealed to the Queen more than to some of her retinue. 'Quamvis nonnulli, vel somno assueti, vel Latini sermonis imperitia, aegre ferebant tot horarum jacturam, ipsa tamen ad ultimum plaudite placidissimo vultu permansit, nec lassitudinis ullam vel simulationem prae se tulit.'[1] But while relating these various details it is significant of the temper of the time that not one of the annalists has a word to say on the remarkable episode of a Plautine comedy being acted on a Sunday evening in a Cambridge college chapel.

As a mark of official appreciation at the performance on the following night, when the Queen was again present, the Chancellor and the High Steward of the University, Lord Robert Dudley, 'vouchsafed to hold both books on the scaffold themselves, and to provide also that sylence might be kept with quietness'.[2] The 'books' were copies of

[1] Robinson, *Com. Hexaem.*, in Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth* (1805), iii. 59.

[2] Anon. English account, p. 186.

the words of the play, provided for the use of illustrious spectators.[1]

On this evening all the honours were carried off by King's College men, by whom the play was 'exhibited and played', and who defrayed the expenses of its production. It was a tragedy on the subject of Dido written by Edward Haliwell, formerly a Fellow of the College,[2]

'qui discendi studio Maronis carmen, sed tenuiori avena, est imitatus, non infeliciter tamen ad tragediae formam historiae seriem elaboravit. Novum opus sed venustum et elegans et doctorum calculis comprobatum, nisi forte sua longtitudine delicatos et morosos nonnihil offendat'

Robinson speaks of it as 'Virgilianis versibus maxima ex parte compositum', and the shorter English account describes it as being 'in hexametre verse, without anie chorus'.

These phrases, interpreted in their natural sense, would mean that the play was written in Latin hexameters. But it is unlikely that Haliwell was guilty of such a solecism as to write a tragedy in this metre. What is probably to be understood is that *Dido* was a close adaptation in Senecan *senarii* of the Virgilian lines, after the same fashion as Gager's later adaptation at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1583.[3] Hartwell's brief summary of the plot shows that it was based, like Gager's, on the early Books of the *Aeneid*, and it is unfortunate that it is not extant for comparison with the Oxford play.

But a far greater loss is that of the tragedy acted on the following night, *Ezechias*, by Nicholas Udall. It is remarkable that the King's College men, who again were the only actors, should have chosen an English scriptural play by the author of *Ralph Roister Doister*, as he had been a member of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and had died in 1556. But probably among the senior members of King's there were

[1] Cf. *The Spanish Tragedie* (IV. iii. 5–7), where Hieronimo says to the Duke of Castile before the performance of his play:

> But, good my Lord, let me entreate your grace
> To giue the King the coppie of the plaie:
> This is the argument of what we shew.

[2] 'Mr. Hatcher, who collected an account of all the Provosts, Fellows, &c., of King's College, Cambridge, now in MS. in the Bodleian, expressly says it was written by Edward Halliwell.' *Retrospective Rev.* xii. 11.

[3] See *infra*, pp. 183 ff.

some of his Eton or Westminster scholars, and his popularity as a Court dramatist is proved by the favour shown to his 'Dialogues and Enterludes' by Queen Mary, in spite of his strong Protestantism.

Hartwell has given a detailed description of the performance, which enables us to trace in some degree the relation of *Ezechias* to its source, 2 Kings xviii–xix. The play appears to have begun with Hezekiah's destruction of the idolatrous images and the brazen serpent (xviii. 4):

Magnus, io, cecidit templis exutus et aris
Mosaicae serpens Relligionis apex,
Cui tot thuricremis stabant altaria donis
Multaq; thesauros fudit acerra suos.
Impietas cecidit, lucosq; arasq; Deorum,
Atq; ipsos eadem fata tulere Deos.
Rex Ezechias pietate insignis et armis
Instaurat purae Relligionis iter.

But the supporters of the heathen worship rebel and overthrow the altars of Jehovah:

Pontifices, vetulaeq;, senesq;, et rustica turba,
Facta patrum probat, et nil nisi facta patrũ.
Oderunt steriles cultus, et inania vota,
Queis nullus strepitus, pōpaq; nulla sonat,
Nullus inest templo Diuus vel Diua, quatitq;
Tanq; ridentes in sua vota genas.
Pars melior, quorum prudens sententia menti,
Qui mens est, quaerit nonnisi mente Deum.
Turba pios cultus, et viui Numinis aras
Calcat, et ad Stygias impia damnat aquas.

This destructive action, which would appear to have taken place upon the stage, is followed by the appearance of a prophet, probably Isaiah, announcing that punishment will come upon them in manifold forms:

His longam praesaga famẽ, pestemq;, malumq;,
Externiq; furens militis arma canit.

A messenger must then have announced the approach of the invading Assyrians:

Fama volat, nec fama fuit.

The host itself thereupon appears:

Seges aerea longè
Assyrijq́ procul militis arma micant.

Rab-shakeh calls upon the Israelites to surrender, and here Udall reverts to the Biblical text (2 Kings xviii. 19–35):

Rabsaccus sese dedant atq́ omnia clamat.
Ni faciant, belli praemia dura tonat.
Infernos iurat, nigriq́ sacraria Ditis
Et patria sacros Relligione Deos.

The Assyrian leader must have been acted by a King's man of unusual height, for Hartwell speaks of him as 'maximus ante alios', and 'immensusq́ armis immenso corpore', while his followers were evidently made to look coal-black:

Dicta probat fuscis miles numerosus in armis.
Tam nullas tenebras dixeris esse nigras.

The insolent speech of the invader is followed, according to Hartwell's summary, by Hezekiah's prayer to the Lord to save Israel (xix. 15–19), which must have been delivered amidst a throng of worshippers:

Dixerat: ingeminant matres pia vota, nurusq́,
Arrecto quaerit corde iuuenta Deum.

Isaiah's prophecy of the destruction of the Assyrians was apparently omitted in the play, for it is not mentioned by Hartwell, who closes his account by a vivid description of the mysterious fate of the invaders. Probably this was related by a messenger. In any case, the 'unity of time' seems to have been observed:

Vna dies Syrios ad bellum miserat omnes,
Ad bellum missos perdidit vna dies.

But according to Robinson, who even calls the *Ezechias* a comedy, lighter matter must have been mixed with the more solemn episodes. 'Mirum vero quantum hic facetiarum, quantum leporis in re tam seria ac sancta, et veritatis tamen certa serie nunquam interrupta.' Udall's method appears therefore to have been more akin to that of Grimald in *Archipropheta* and *Christus Rediuiuus* than that of the writers of Ἱερεμίας or *Absalon*.

The play was followed by an epilogue in which the King's men apologized to the Queen for the lameness of their efforts to please her on this and the preceding night:

> Horas vt longas et noctes fessa sederes,
> Histrio dum raucos proiicit ore sonos.

The words were not merely those of courtly compliment, for at the close of the following day Elizabeth was too much exhausted to be present at the performance that had been arranged. 'Tyred with going about to see the Colledges, & hearyng of Disputacõns, and oꝰ watched . . . with the former Playes' she 'could not, (as otherwyse, no Dowt, she would with the lycke Pacyence and Chearfulnes as she was pʳnte at thother) heare the sayed Tragedie, to the greate Sorowe not onlye of the Players, but of all the whole Uniꝰsitie.' This tragedy was, according to Stokys, that 'of Sophocles, entytuled Ajax flagellifer, in Laten'. If his description is correct, it cannot have been identical with the *Ajax Flagellifer* performed before James I at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1605, for Sir Isaac Wake expressly characterizes the latter as 'titulo ex *Sophocle* mutuato, sed re, tam diversa, quam idiomate', and his synopsis of it proves the truth of his statement.[1] Robinson, in his reference to the abandoned performance, speaks of 'Ajacis furores, Sophoclaeo Cothurno non indignos'—words which might be used either of a translation, or of another play on the Sophoclean theme. He gives franker utterance than the other chroniclers to the bitter disappointment felt at the cancelling of this final theatrical entertainment, upon which money and pains had been lavished by the 'ludorum aediles'.

'Arma namque bellica, vestes splendore illustres apparatumque omnem reliquum Londino aliisque remotissimis locis deportarunt, personas ex numerosa Academia selegerunt,[2] locum et aptum et amplum satis repererunt . . . Itaque accidit nobis perincommode quibus ne hiscere quidem visus est Ajax ille flagellifer, quem furentem cernere desiderabamus.'

[1] *Rex Platonicus* (1605), 128-9.

[2] This play, like the *Aululariа*, was to have been performed by actors chosen from the University as a whole; the short English account is wrong in saying that it was to have been played by the students of King's College.

Before her departure on the following morning, Elizabeth bestowed various marks of her favour on Thomas Preston, one of the Fellows of King's, to whom she had given the preference in a disputation with Thomas Cartwright of Trinity, and who 'had acted admirably well in the Tragedy of Dido'. She then rode on her way to Hinchinbrook, where, if a foreign contemporary narrative is to be trusted, there was a strangely discordant epilogue to the Cambridge festivities.[1]

The royal visit to Cambridge had its counterpart two years later in that to Oxford, which began on Saturday, August 31, and ended on Friday, September 6. The fullest English account of the Oxford ceremonies is contained in one of Twyne's MSS. in the University archives, xvii, ff. 160-9. There is no reason to doubt, though Twyne does not mention the author's name, that this was written by Thomas Neale, Regius Professor of Hebrew from about 1558 to 1569. For as far as they cover the same ground it is almost verbally identical with the much shorter Harleian MS. 7033, ff. 150-3, *A Brief Rehearsall Of all such things as were done In the University of Oxford During The Queen's Majesty's Abode There. This exhibited by Richard Stephens, As an Extract Drawn out of A Longer Treatise Made by M^r^ Neale, Reader of Hebrew at Oxford.*[2] There is another short English narrative of the visit in Twyne MS. xxi, 792-800, by Miles Windsor of Corpus, but though he was one of the University actors, he makes no reference to the theatrical performances.

[1] See Appendix III.

[2] Stephens's *Brief Rehearsall* was printed by Nichols in *Progresses of Eliz.*, i. 95-100 (1788). It was not reprinted in the edition of 1823. A later reprint from a further collation of the MS. was made by Mr. C. Plummer in *Elizabethan Oxford* (O. H. S., 1887). Mr. Plummer says, 'of Neale's original work I have found no trace,' and adds that in his opinion it 'must be practically embodied in Wood's account of this visit in the *History and Antiquities*, ed. Gutch, ii. 154 ff.' (*op. cit.*, p. xvii and n.). Twyne's copy of Neale's work evidently escaped his notice, but my examination of it proves that he was right in his view of Wood's use of it. Wood, however, made both omissions and additions, and my quotations are therefore taken from the Twyne MS.

The fact that the MS. mentions, f. 161, that Neale presented his 'Topographical Delineation' of Oxford to the Queen on September 2, is no argument against his authorship. Bereblock, who drew the illustrations, speaks similarly of himself in his *Commentarii*, 'Eas formas Berblokus . . . calamo suo fecit' (Plummer, *op. cit.*, 140).

Nicholas Robinson, who had written the most detailed account of the Cambridge visit, has also left a much briefer Latin relation *Of the Actes Done At Oxford When The Queen's Majesty was there.*[1] But a closer parallel to Robinson's Cambridge *Commentarii* is John Bereblock's *Commentarii Sive Ephemerae Actiones Rerum Illustrium Oxonii Gestarum In Adventu Serenissimae Principis Elizabethae.*[2] Bereblock was a Fellow of Exeter, who in 1569 became Senior Proctor. His Commentaries are particularly valuable for their detailed accounts of the plays acted before the Queen, and the stage and scenic arrangements.[3] It is he alone who gives the full description of the preparations made by the Christ Church authorities, which enables us to compare them with those at King's College in 1564. Even more elaborate precautions were taken than at Cambridge to secure for the Queen undisturbed access to the performances:

'Primo ibi ab ingenti solido pariete patefacto aditu, proscenium insigne fuit, ponsque ab eo ligneus pensilis, sublicis impositus, parvo et perpolito tractu per transversos gradus ad magnam Collegii aulam protrahitur; festa fronde coelato pictoque umbraculo exornatur, ut per eum, sine motu et perturbatione prementis vulgi, regina posset quasi aequabili gressu, ad praeparata spectacula contendere.'

Whereas at King's the stage was built 'in the Bodye of the Churche', at Christ Church it was at the west end of the hall. 'Parte illius superiori, qua occidentem respicit, theatrum excitatur magnum et erectum, gradibusque multis excelsum.' As there were no side-chapels, as in the exceptional case of King's College, to serve for 'houses', they were artificially con-

[1] Harl. MS. 7033, ff. 142-9. Printed by Nichols in *Progresses of Elizabeth*, i (1788) and i. 229-47 (1823). Reprinted from further collation of MS., by Plummer, *op. cit.*, 173-91.

[2] First printed by Hearne (1729) from a MS. given to him by Thomas Ward of Warwick. Reprinted from Hearne by Nichols in *Progresses of Elizabeth*, i. 35-59 (1788), but not reprinted in the edition of 1823. There is a MS. in the Bodleian (Add. A. 63), with variations from that used by Hearne. This has been collated with Hearne's text for Mr. Plummer's reprint (*op. cit.*, 113-50).

[3] A useful, though not always accurate, translation of Bereblock's florid Latin *Commentarii*, as far as they deal with the theatrical performances, has been made by Mr. W. Y. Durand, who adds some further illustrations and critical matter (*Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, vol. xx. 502-28.

structed according to the system of 'decoration simultanée' by which all the 'houses' required during a play were on the stage throughout. 'Ex utroque scenae latere comoedis ac personatis, magnifica palatia aedesque apparatissimae extruuntur.' A canopied chair was arranged on the stage for the Queen in full view of the audience. 'Sublime fixa sella fuit, pulvinaribus ac tapetiis ornata, aureoque umbraculo operta. Reginae destinatus locus erat.' The accommodation which had been found for the Court in the rood-loft at King's was here provided in balconies fixed along the walls. 'Juxta omnes parietes podia et pegmata extructa sunt, subsellia eisdem superiora fuerunt multorum fastigiorum unde viri illustres ac matronae suspicerentur.' But the Oxford authorities seem to have been less exclusive than those at Cambridge, for Bereblock adds 'et populus circum circa ludos prospicere potuit', while the episode recorded below at the performance of *Palamon and Arcyte* shows that undergraduates were also admitted to the hall. The arrangements for lighting were on a far more extensive scale than at King's:

'Lucernae, lichni, candelaeque ardentes clarissimam ibi lucem fecerunt. Tot luminaribus, ramulis ac orbibus divisis, totque passim funalibus, inaequali splendore, incertam praebentibus lucem, splendebat locus, ut et instar diei micare, et spectaculorum claritatem adjuvare candore summo visa sint.'

Robinson's brief description, 'omnia erant ad splendorem et ornatum satis illustria, sumptibus regiis et adjumento Mri Edwards, qui duobus fere mensibus in Academia mansit,' adds two important pieces of information. It shows that at Oxford, as at Cambridge, the expense of fitting up the temporary theatre fell upon the Office of Works, and that Richard Edwardes (in addition to writing a play for the occasion) exercised the same general superintendence over the preparation of the performances and the training of the actors as Roger Kelke had done at Cambridge. As Edwardes had become a Student of Christ Church in 1547, the year in which he proceeded M.A., and as he had been Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal since 1561, he was peculiarly well fitted for the task. A glimpse of one of the preliminary informal rehearsals that he conducted is given by Neale, who relates

that his *Palamon and Arcyte* being 'repeated before certayne courtiers in Mr Marbeck's[1] lodginge by ye players in their Schollers gownes before ye Queenes cõminge, was so well lyked that they saide it far surpassed Damon & Pythias, then ye whiche nothinge could be better'.

As on her Cambridge visit, the Queen arrived in the University town on a Saturday. She was accompanied again by Cecil, and also by Guzman de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador, and a throng of nobles, while Leicester, the Oxford Chancellor, received her at Wolvercote. After running a gauntlet of orations in various languages from academic and city officials, she arrived at Christ Church, where she was to reside during her visit. The Cambridge precedent was repeated by the first dramatic performance being fixed for Sunday evening. Though the Queen herself kept her lodging, and was not present, the play was acted before the Ambassador and the Court. It was 'a latyn playe called Marcus Geminus', or as Robinson puts it more explicitly, 'Historia quaedam Gemini cuiusdam, quam Historiam studiosi quidam Collegii Christi in formam redigerant Comoediæ, sed oratione soluta'. The composition of a comedy in prose at this early date is remarkable, as is also the character of the plot. Though its source appears not to have been traced, Bereblock's synopsis shows that it was really a tragi-comedy concerned with a conspiracy against Marcus Geminus, a landowner, in the days of the emperor 'Alexander Severus':

'licuit statim in scena Geminum Campanum inspicere, a Duillio et Cotta apud Alexandrum Severum invidia ac aemulatione falso accusatum, servos agricolas et rusticos, corruptelarum illecebris irretitos testes introductos; nihilque tum magis ridiculum, quam istos contemplari, tanquam in certa victoria sordide triumphantes, de Gemini supplicio decernentes, de facultatibus dividendis rixantes, adeoque inter se pugnantes, deinde suum infortunium lamentis muliebriter lachrimisque deplorantes. Ubi satis ita lusum est, libertini postea honestiores introducuntur, quos nec poena nec premium ad iniuriosam accusationem potuit deducere. Istorum ergo chirographa, testificationes, indicia, quaestiones rem manifestam fecere. Servi igitur tum accusatores, imperatoris mandato, cruci affiguntur,

[1] Roger Marbeck was a Canon of Christ Church and Provost of Oriel.

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Duillius et Cotta debite plectuntur, libertini remunerantur, Geminus absolvitur.'

The play, which was not finished till the first hour after midnight had struck, was very successful. The Spanish Ambassador 'commended y^e^ same so highly to y^e^ Queene, y^t^ her Grace saide she would loose no more sporte for y^e^ good reporte she heard of their doinges'. She made good her promise on the following Monday evening, but the popular curiosity had been so whetted by her previous absence, and by the reports spread of the magnificence of the scenic arrangements 'ut eo infinita ac innumerabilis hominum multitudo, immensa et immoderata videndi cupiditate confluxerit'. Hence arose a disaster, for the pressure of the crowd on the steps at the entrance to the hall, after the Queen and Court had passed in, was so great that a wall which protected the steps gave way, killing three persons 'a Scholler of S^t^ Mary Hall, named Walker, a Brewer named M^r^ Pennie, & y^e^ third, a Cooke of C̄x̄ C. named Jo: Gilbert', and wounding others. 'The Queene understandinge thereof, sent forth p^r^sently Mr. Vicechancellor & her owne surgeons to helpe them', but the performance was duly carried out. As Bereblock blandly remarks, 'Hoc malum quamvis potuit communem laetitiam contaminare, nihilominus tamen eandem commaculare non potuit. Ad spectacula itaque omnes alieno iam periculo cautiores revertuntur.'

The play acted was Part I of Edwardes's *Palamon and Arcyte*. Parte II was to have followed on the next evening, September 3, but 'it was so late afore y^e^ Queene came from disputations that worde was sent, if they would playe y^e^ Nobilitie should be there p^r^sent, but she could not come: unto whom M^r^ Edwards made supplication that it might be differred unto y^e^ next night, w^ch^ y^e^ Queene graunted'.

Bereblock's detailed summary shows that *Palamon and Arcyte* was a dramatization at first or second hand of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*;[1] Part I of the play ending with

[1] The only reason for thinking that the adaptation may have been at second hand is the puzzling description of it by Robinson as 'Fabula Militis (ut Chaucerus nominat) e Latino in Anglicum sermonem translata per M̄rum Edwards et alios eiusdem Collegii alumnos' (*op. cit.*, 180).

Theseus's discovery of the two kinsmen fighting in the wood, and his appointment of the tourney for the hand of Emily. It is evident that the subject had been partly chosen because it offered opportunities for varied spectacular effects—the hunting-party in the woods, the tournament, the supplications of Emily and her rival wooers at the altars of their guardian deities, the destruction of the victorious Arcyte by subterranean fire sent by Saturn, and the funeral ceremonies round his pyre. It is clear, too, from an incident related by Neale, that it was not only within the hall that realistic effects were introduced:

'At y^e^ crie of y^e^ houndes in y^e^ Quadrant uppon y^e^ trayne of a foxe in y^e^ huntinge of Theseus, when y^e^ boyes in ye wyndowes cried, nowe, nowe, ō excellent saide y^e^ Queene those boyes are readie to leape out at windowes to followe y^e^ houndes.'

Neale also preserves Elizabeth's pithy comments on some of the personages in the play:

'By Palamon she sayde I warrant he dalieth not in love when he was in loue indeede. By Arcite he was a right Martiall Knight hauinge a swart countenance & a manly face. By Trecatio[1] gods pittie, what a knaue it is. By Perithous throweinge St Edwards rich cloake into y^e^ funerall pyre, whom a stander-by would haue stayed by y^e^ arme with an oathe, goo foole, he knoweth his part.'

At the end she sent for Edwardes, '& gave him great thankes w^th^ ꝑmise of rewarde.' She also ordered that 'The Ladie Æmilia for gatheringe her flowers prettily in y^e^ garden & singinge sweetlie in y^e^ pryme of March' should receive eight Angels.

The loss of this play, which stirred Elizabeth and her train to so much enthusiasm, and which was Edwardes's last and doubtless most mature work, is even more regrettable than that of Udall's *Ezechias*. It evidently kept much more

[1] Presumably a humorous character added by Edwardes, as there is no one of that name in *The Knight's Tale*. Perithous is the cousin of Duke Theseus, who procures in *The Tale* Arcyte's release, though Bereblock's words 'incarcerantur, erumpunt: exulant' suggest an escape by stealth. The incident of his throwing a cloak upon Arcyte's pyre is founded upon Chaucer's general allusion to 'how somme caste . . . of hire vestimentz' into the fire (ll. 2947-8).

closely to its Chaucerian source than *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, but without the text no further comparison is possible.

On the following evening a Latin tragedy, *Progne*, closed the series of performances before the Queen. Neale states that it was 'made by M^r D^r Caulfhill', i.e. James Calfhill, one of the Canons of Christ Church, and Bereblock adds that its source was Book VI of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. But his synopsis (as Mr. W. Y. Durand has shown [1]) makes it highly probable that Calfhill merely adapted *Progne*, a Latin play by Gregorio Corraro, published at Venice in 1558. For Bereblock thus describes the opening scene:

'Primo ibi exauditus est strepitus quidam subterraneus, reconditus & formidabilis. Hinc sese infernis è partibus erigit Diomedes. Illud vero tum fuit horribile, spumas agere in ore, caput, pedes, brachia flagrantia habere, non fortuito, sed insito et innato incendio, ipsum vero misere nimis perterreri, ac agitari furiarum taedis ardentibus, ad facinus immane ac nefandum impelli, domo scilicet propria virus acerbitatis suae evomere, ad nepotum thalamos omnia dira canere. Sed Daemonem istum tam tetrum, tam horribilem, tam infestum suis consistere nusquam longius patiuntur, ad inferna iterum maximo luctu laboreque tanquam in pistrinum aliquod, eum furiae detrudunt.'

There is nothing in the *Metamorphoses* to suggest this episode, but Corraro's play opens with a prologue spoken by Diomedes who, as an earlier King of Thrace, is represented as the ancestor of Tereus and the reigning house. His words correspond closely with Bereblock's description. He begins:

Lucos, & amnes desero inferni Iouis:

he calls on the 'dira Furiarum agmina' to add to his tortures, and declares that his advent is to fill up the measure of iniquity of his house:

Matris furorem cerno, & euersam domum,
Miserumq; patrem: video crudeles focos,
Et sparsa pueri viscera, & diras dapes.

[1] *loc. cit.*, 520–3. Mr. Durand had only seen extracts from Corraro's play, including the prologue, but an examination of the whole work lends support to his view. I do not, however, think that there is any need for his conjecture that Calfhill 'turned the prologue borrowed from Corraro into a dumb-show.' Bereblock's phrase 'omnia dira canere' is against this.

At last he is driven back to hell,

> Vocat flagello me ad infernos lacus
> Erynnis.

Similarly detailed comparison cannot be made in the later scenes, as Bereblock's description is based mainly on the *Metamorphoses*, from which he quotes a number of passages. But his analysis corresponds with the sequence of scenes in Corraro's play. It is noticeable in this play that, though the ill-treatment of Philomela and the murder of Itis are merely related, the gruesome banquet and the exhibition of the boy's head to his father take place on the stage. If, as is probable, this arrangement was retained at Christ Church, the Queen and the spectators generally must have had their nerves severely tried, and may have found difficulty in drawing from the play the edifying lessons indicated by Bereblock:

'Eratque spectaculum istud in pravis actibus insignis humani generis similitudo, fuitque intuentibus quasi fabula quaedam illustris eorum omnium, qui vel amori, vel iracundiae nimium indulgent quorum utrumque, etiamsi ad meliores veniunt, inflammant tamen appetitione nimia, eosque longe quam antea ferociores impotentioresque reddunt.'

The scenic effects must have been imposing, for Bereblock records that 'eius elegantia ac scenae magnificentia Regina proceresque mirum in modum ac impense admodum delectati sunt'. He further says of it, 'munus amplissimum et apparatissimum, quod communis expectatio desiderabat, communi opera restituitur'. The words seem to imply that the whole University had co-operated in the production of the tragedy. In any case, we have contemporary evidence that the actors during the Queen's visit were not all members of Christ Church. Neale, in his MS. narrative (f. 160), under date August 31, gives a list of the 'Actors in y^e^ playes', which has been omitted by both Stephens and by Wood, but which is here transcribed as that of the first theatrical 'cast' which has come down to us.

'Marbeck, Banes, Badger, Rookes, Ball, Buste, Glasyer, Bristowe, Thornton, Penson, Pottes Senior, Pottes Junior, Mathewe, Dalaper, Danet, Mauncel, Jones, Argall, Sūmers, Townesende, Wyndesore, Twyne, Raynoldes, Dorcet, Grey,

Egerton, Carew, Poll, Younge, Fourd, Jutson, Dalapers boye, Smythe nutrix.'

Details about the individual members of this large company of actors will be found elsewhere,[1] but one name, that of 'Raynoldes', needs special notice. This is John Rainolds, at that time an undergraduate of Corpus, of which he was afterwards president, who was destined to become the fiercest and most powerful assailant of the University stage. It would have been difficult to believe that he is the 'Raynoldes' mentioned by Neale, had he not himself stated in *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes* that he played the part of Hippolyta at Christ Church on this occasion.[2]

On September 7 the Queen rode away from Oxford, 'with many thanks to the whole University and repeated, fond farewells to her dear scholars.' All that remained was to pay the heavy bill that her entertainment involved. A detailed record of the 'Expenses of Christechurche by occasion of th Queenes Maties cōminge thether', amounting in all to £148 2*s*. 1¾*d*., has fortunately been preserved.[3] The following items are wholly or partly connected with the theatrical performances:

'12 Sept. to Rob. Burton & his boy for v dayes after xvi^d^ the daye & Willm̄ Carter & Rob. Hart & Ouens man as longe after x^d^ th daye takinge down th scaffoldes, stage, porche & settinge vp partitions beaten down before . . . xix^s^. ij^d^.

14 Sept. [items similar to those above, and] to Berell for iiij dayes labor about the playes & alterations of the stage . . . ij*s*. iiij*d*.

16 Sept. to Ouen for hymselfe and his man helpinge to tak downe the stage & scaffolde, the saturday after the Queenes departure . . . xx*d*.

13 Oct. to Rob. mooneson & his seruant & his boye for ij dayes stoppynge of the holes made in the roofe of the hall for lightes . . . iiij*s*.

16 Nouēbr. to Rich. Bremton & willm̄ pickauer for one daye a pece makinge a bere y^t^ was broken at the playes . . . xx*d*.'[3]

It is highly probable that the bier which thus came to grief was that upon which, as Chaucer tells, the body of

[1] See Appendix V.

[2] See *infra*, pp. 231–2.

[3] MS. Rawlinson, C. 878. Another MS. (Top. Oxon. e. 9) omits a few of the items, and gives the total as £137 2*s*. 11½*d*.

Arcite was laid out in cloth of gold and borne to the funeral pyre.[1]

Other items, less directly connected with the theatrical performances, illustrate the co-operation between the academic authorities and the Court officials which was necessary to the success of these sumptuous festivities:

'3 Sep. to the Clerkes of the greene clothe for unburdenninge at o^{r} requeste the universitie & us of the lightes & rushes iij payre of gloves . . . xviii*s*.
4 Sep. to the gentleman ussher one payre of gloves . . . iiij*s*. iiij*d*.
to the Q. porters . . . x*s*.
to the yeoman of the woodyarde for helpinge us to a recōpence of o^{r} woode & cole spent . . . x^{s}.'

It is in truth the union of the resources of the Universities and of the Court in an hitherto unparalleled series of entertainments that gives the royal visits of 1564 and 1566 their distinctive place in the history of the academic stage. The elaborately prepared theatrical performances are, as it were, 'plays within a play'. They are parts of the gorgeous Tudor pageant, with the Maiden Queen as its centre, that rolled on those summer days and nights through the halls and groves of the scholars. As we read the records of the two memorable 'progresses' we can catch again something of the intoxicating freshness of the time. The spirit of the Renaissance in its blithe and glowing radiance is felt as

[1] Another even more interesting 'property' was damaged during the performances. 'There was occupied and worn at Oxford, in a play before her majesty, certain of the apparel that was late queen Mary's; at what time there was lost one fore-quarter of a gown without sleeves, of purple velvet, with satin ground,' &c. This is quoted by Miss Strickland in *Lives of the Queens of England* (1843), vi. 270, from a 'highly curious MS.' in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillips. Prof. Wallace, who cites the passage from Miss Strickland's work, states that it comes 'from the accounts for 1566 in one of the Wardrobe Books of Queen Elizabeth' (*The Evolution of the English Drama*, 114–15, note). But Miss Strickland is not justified in stating that 'it is certain that the fair Emilia' wore queen Mary's 'gaberdine', still less in suggesting that 'the roguish representative of the Athenian princess had doubtless guerdoned himself, for his trouble' with its missing portion. The gown may have been worn by one of the characters in *Progne*, and in any case no boy actor would have been allowed to appropriate any part of a costume lent by the Office of the Revels.

unmistakably by the Cam and the Isis as in the enchanted gardens of Belmont or Verona.

But the plays presented before Elizabeth break no new ground. They form the climax of the older order of academic drama. Plautine comedy, Greek tragedy in Latin dress, humanist versions of episodes from classical legend and Old Testament story, even the vernacular play based on a Chaucerian tale, were included in the repertory of the pre-Elizabethan University theatre. It was not till near the close of the following decade that, under quickening influences, of which something will be said in the next chapter, new types of academic drama came into being.

CHAPTER VI

THE SENECAN CHRONICLE-PLAY AT CAMBRIDGE

FOR about fifteen years after Elizabeth's visit to Cambridge our information about the performances of College plays has to be gleaned mainly from the records in account-books. The names of the plays acted are only occasionally stated, but so far as the available evidence goes, it suggests that from 1564 to 1578 the favourite pieces continued to be those of the Roman dramatists, especially Plautus, and of the humanists. Mention is made in the Trinity accounts of the following Plautine comedies, *Stichus* (1564–5), *Asinaria* (1565–6), and *Menechmus* (1565–6), if, as is probable, this means *Menaechmi*. At Jesus College *Bacchides* was performed on Christmas even, 1579.[1] The humanist plays acted at Trinity included, as has been seen,[2] *Philanira*, (1564–5), *Asotus* (1565–6), *Crumenaria* (1565–6), and *Iephthes* (1566–7). The payment recorded in the Jesus College accounts for 1563–4 of 6 shillings 'for a parasites cote and hose, for the stuffe and makinge of it'[3] suggests the performance of a Latin or neo-Latin comedy.

Striking testimony of another kind to the popularity of the Roman dramatists, and the elaborate care with which their plays were produced on College stages at Cambridge, is given in 1575 by William Soone, who had been Professor of Civil Law 1561–3, and who was now living at Cologne:

'Ianuarium, Februarium & Martium menses, vt noctis taedia fallant, in spectaculis, populo exhibendis, ponunt, tanta elegantia, tanta actionis dignitate, ea vocis & vultus & motus moderatione, ea magnificentia, vt, si Plautus, aut Terentius, aut Seneca reuiuisceret, mirarentur suas ipsi fabulas, maio-

[1] Moore Smith's *loc. cit.*, 271.
[2] *supra*, pp. 19–22.
[3] A. Gray, *Jesus College*, 94. The items in the next paragraph are from the same source.

remque, quàm cum inspectantepop. Rom. agerentur, voluptatem, credo, caperent.'[1]

The reference that follows, in a similar vein, to Euripides, Sophocles, and Aristophanes has been already mentioned,[2] with the suggestion that Soone may be alluding to Latin versions of their works.

At Jesus 'a common play' was acted at this period at the end of every term, usually in the hall but sometimes in the chapel. In 1563-4 the surprisingly small sum of 12*d.* was paid for 'making a theatre'; in 1576-7, for the same purpose, 23*s.* 2*d.* was spent. Mention is made of a number of minor casualties in connexion with the performances. On one occasion 'y^e^ Goodwife Linsey' received 2*s.* 8*d.* for 'a platter and a sawser lost at the playes', once the clock was 'broke', and more frequently the windows. On another night considerable damage was done by a torch 'which burned in y^e^ toppe of y^e^ Hall'.

A vivid glimpse into more disturbing incidents during the performance of plays is given in a letter of December 9, 1579, from John Hatcher, of St. John's College, the Vice-Chancellor, to Lord Burghley, the Chancellor. Hatcher is writing about 'a case of controuersie' between 'one my^r^ Drywood a mayster of arte & one of the fellowes of Trinitie colledge' and 'one Punter late scholler of St. Johns colledge'.[3] At Drywood's request he is telling the Chancellor what he knows about 'Punters demeanor here in Cambridge'.

'albeit of myselfe I haue not binne much acquainted w^th^ y^e^ conuersation of y^e^ sayde Punter, yet my hap was to heare at large how my p^r^decessor in this office the last yeare did examine him. In w^ch^ examination he was detected of much disorder: as namely that he had vncased (as they call it) one of the stagekepers of Caius colledge pluckinge of his visor: and at the first playes y^e^ same yeare at Trinitie colledge had violently pressed to com into y^e^ colledge, euen against y^e^ wills of such maysters of Arte, as were there appointed to see good

[1] From a letter to George Braun, printed on the back of a map of Cambridge which Soone had copied from Richard Lyne's map in Caius's *History of the University* (1574), and which was published in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, vol. ii (1575 ?).

[2] *supra*, p. 18.

[3] *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* 1579, Dec. *f.* 1. Punter acted in *Hymenaeus* and *Richardus Tertius*. See Appendix V.

order kept, insomuch that he had almost set that house & St. Johns together by y^e^ eares: & afterwards to reuenge himselfe for y^e^ repulse there sustained had priuely crept into Benet colledge, & takinge vpon him y^e^ habite of a stagekeper, there, to y^e^ greate disturbance of the whole assembly, did assaulte one of Trinitie colledge, whom also he afterward chalengid into the feilds. Thus much I hearde he was charged w^th^all & himselfe not able to denie it. And notw^th^standing for theise his doings he was sharply rebuked by the officer, & he so humbled himselfe that all the heades thought he woulde not againe offend in that maner, yet I vnderstand soone after at y^e^ second plaies at Trinitie colledge, his outrage was much worse.'

It is interesting to have evidence at this early date of friction between Trinity and St. John's over the exclusion of a Johnian from a Trinity performance. In the next century a similar incident, affecting a number of St. John's men, led to a riot outside the great gate of Trinity.[1]

The names of the Caius and Trinity plays of 1578–9 at which the scapegrace Punter was guilty of disorder are unknown,[2] but about this period University drama at Cambridge began to come under new influences and to vary its traditional forms. These changes are, broadly speaking, coincident with the important developments in English literature generally which marked the beginning of the third decade of Elizabeth's reign. Between 1578 and 1581 fall works so varied and significant as Holinshed's and Stow's *Chronicles*, North's *Plutarch*, *Euphues*, *The Apologie for Poetrie*, and *The Shepheards Calender*. The growing national spirit and the Renaissance passion for experiment and adventure, both intellectual and physical, combined to produce new literary types both in verse and prose.

Among these new types was the play based on English history. Bale had indeed earlier in the century brought King John upon the stage, but his work is a polemical Morality

[1] J. W. Clark, *The Riot at the Great Gate of Trinity College, February 1610–11* (1906).

[2] So also is the name of a comedy which the University prepared to perform before the Queen when she visited Audley End on July 27, 1578, but which apparently was not acted. Amongst the University expenses in connexion with this visit, amounting to £14 9*s.* 2*d.*, is included a payment 'to the musitions at rehearsing the Comedy' (Harl. MSS., 7046, f. 78^v^).

rather than an history play. Sackville and Norton had dramatized in *Gorboduc* (1562) a story from the annals of Britain which was not as completely legendary in their eyes as in ours. But even if the plot were not fictitious, the subordination of the dramatic action to the enforcement of a political moral—the evil results of national disunion—would give the piece a didactic rather than an historical character. As far as we can judge from the extant evidence, the first English history-play that can be strictly so called, though it is not written in the vernacular, is a product of the University stage. It is *Richardus Tertius*, by Thomas Legge, probably first produced at St. John's College at the Bachelors' Commencement in March 1579/80. The date is given in the manuscript in the Cambridge University library, which has the following title:

Thome Legge legum doctoris
Collegij Caiogoneviliensis in
Academia Cantabrigiensi
magistri ac Rectoris

Richardus tertius Tragedia trivespa
habita Collegij diui Johñis
Evangeliste
Comitij Bacchelaureorum
Anno Domini 1579
Tragedia in tres accõnes diuisa

The date and place of performance are indirectly confirmed by another manuscript in Emmanuel College which gives a list of the actors, who are all members of St. John's, and of the academical standing which they are known to have had in 1579/80.[1]

The author himself had no official connexion with St. John's, though he was successively a member of four different colleges. Born at Norwich in 1535, he had matriculated at Corpus in 1552. Thence he passed to Trinity, of which, after graduating in 1556/7, he became a Fellow. In 1560 he proceeded M.A., and in 1568 he was elected a Fellow of Jesus. In July 1573 he was chosen by Dr. Caius to succeed him as Master of Gonville and Caius College. In 1575 he took the degree of Doctor of Laws, having already held office as Regius Professor of Civil Law; he is thus one of the numerous

[1] See Appendix V.

civilians who distinguished themselves as academic dramatists at both Universities. His rule as Master of Caius was at first somewhat troubled. His Romanist sympathies brought him into conflict with a Puritan section of the Fellows, who in February 1581/2 laid a series of charges against him before Burghley. Two petitions contained respectively 37 and 51 accusations, which ranged from the encouraging of Papacy and the abuse of College funds to the permission of the 'singinge of lewde ballades w^th^ heades out of the windowes' and of 'continuall & expressive loud singinge, and noyse of Organs to the great disturbaunce of o^r^ studdyes'.[1] The charges were answered by Richard Swale, one of the Fellows who was incriminated with Legge, on behalf of himself and the Master. Burghley referred the matter to the Vice-Chancellor, William Fulke, who after holding an inquiry reported on March 18th that 'D^r^ Legge beinge verie well learned, and of a gentle nature, is thought of many, and soe confessed to me by some of the complanantes to have been verie much misled by M^r^ Swale'.[2] The result of the proceedings was, in the main, a victory for Legge, who not only retained his headship of the College, but continued to add fresh dignities.

In 1587–8 he became Vice-Chancellor, and in 1593 a Master in Chancery. In 1591 he was admitted a proctor in the consistorial court of the Bishop of Ely. It is a curious coincidence that he and William Gager, the Oxford dramatist, should both have held legal office in the Ely diocese. At his death in 1607 he left a high reputation both as a man of affairs and a scholar. But his only surviving work, except his continuation in manuscript of the College Annals, was his Latin trilogy on Richard III.

In his choice of his particular subject from English history Legge was happily inspired. He was doubtless partly influenced, as the Epilogue shows, by the fact that Richmond's triumph over Richard culminated in 'the happy uniteinge of both houses, of whome the Queenes majestie came, and is undoubted heyre'. He was also able in a St. John's play to glorify, through her son, the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby:

[1] Lansdowne MSS. 33, ff. 91–95^v^.
[2] Lansdowne MSS. 34, f. 35.

> Illustre quae nostrum hoc suis collegium
> Christoq; fundauit dicatū sumptibus.

But apart from these incidental attractions, the subject was exceptionally well suited for treatment on neo-Senecan lines. The bare historical facts of the struggle between the Houses of Lancaster and York, and of the internecine conflict among the partisans of the victorious White Rose, rivalled in their sombre horror and kaleidoscopic changes of fortune any primaeval tale of 'Thebes or Pelops' line'. But it was not in the bare facts that Legge found his materials. In the century that had elapsed since Richard fell at Bosworth Field they had been embroidered by a series of chroniclers, many of whom were familiar with the portraiture of the tyrant in classical tragedy, and were naturally disposed to find its modern counterpart in the vanquished foe of the house of Tudor. The portraiture of Richard on these lines may be said to have been begun in the Latin *History of Henry VII* by Bernard André, who had accompanied Richard on his invasion of England. It was developed by Sir Thomas More in his *History of King Richard III*, which appeared both in English and Latin versions, but which covered only the period from the death of Edward IV to the rebellion of Buckingham. Richard's earlier life and the closing period of his reign had, however, been included in the *Historia Angliae* of Polydore Vergil, who had specially emphasized the working-out of Nemesis in the fortunes of the leading members of the two Houses. Richard Grafton, in his continuation of Hardyng's *Chronicle* (1543) embodied More's English version in incomplete form and an English adaptation of Polydore Vergil's work. In 1548 Grafton printed from Edward Hall's manuscript and notes *The Vnion of the two noble and illustre families of Lancastre & Yorke*, wherein Hall, while using More and Vergil as his sources, heightened still further Richard's infamy, and gave the prose record of his reign its final form—for later chroniclers, Grafton himself in 1568 and Holinshed in 1578, add nothing of importance. Yet a detailed comparison of Legge's play with the Chronicles goes far to prove that the dramatist must have used three of them—the Hardyng continuation, Grafton, and either Hall or Holinshed, probably the former. It was, in

any case, Hall who had greatly extended More's rhetorical device of putting long speeches into the mouths of the principal personages, and had thus helped to mould the story still further to the purposes of neo-Senecan tragedy.[1]

In one fundamental respect, however, Legge found it necessary to depart from his Roman model. Seneca had, as a rule, observed the Unities, and had confined his plots to the culminating episodes in the fortunes of his heroes or heroines. But the Cambridge dramatist, unable to resist the dominating Elizabethan instinct to choose a wide canvas and to crowd it with multitudinous life, brought upon the stage the main events between the death of Edward IV in April 1483 and the battle of Bosworth in August 1485. He attempted, as has been seen by the title, to meet partly the problem thus presented by dividing his play into three *Actiones*, to be performed on successive evenings. The first *Actio* extends to the execution of Hastings and the penance of Shore's wife in the middle of June, 1483; the second to the coronation of Richard on July 6, 1483; the third to Richmond's triumph on the battle-field. But even if each *Actio* were unjustifiably regarded as an independent play, none of them, especially the third and longest, could be looked upon as conforming in space and structure to the Senecan type.

The variety of the episodes also involves a larger number of personages than was customary on the Senecan stage, and while the nomenclature of royal and noble personages is easily Latinized, there is a great incongruity in the appearance in the lists of characters of such undisguisedly contemporary designations as 'Fitzwilliam recorder for London vt vulgo loquūtur,' Doctor Shawe, and 'Dighton carnifex, a good bigge slouen'.[2]

[1] This brief sketch of the development of the Richard saga in the chroniclers is based upon G. B. Churchill's detailed analysis in *Richard the Third up to Shakespeare* (1900), 59–227.

[2] My quotations, except where otherwise stated, are from Harl. MS. 6926, a transcript of the play by Henry Lacy, of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1586. In some cases, however, the reading of Harl. MS. 2412, dating from 1588, is better, and has been substituted, Lacy's text being given in a note (L). Barron Field printed the play for the Shakespeare Society in 1844 from the seventeenth century MS. in Emmanuel College, filling up 'the few blanks' from the MS. in the University library, and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt reprinted this text in *Shakespeare's Library*,

The classical Chorus, in its moralizing capacity, is not introduced, though each *Actio* concludes with a song. The author (or the producers of the play) appears to have sacrificed the Chorus to gain more opportunity for spectacular effects. Thus the first *Actio* closes with the procession in which 'Shore's wife in her peticote, hauinge a taper burning in her hande' is the central figure; the second with the elaborate 'showe of the Coronation' of Richard; and the third with the crowning of Richmond on Bosworth Field.

But while in all these ways *Richardus Tertius* bears the impress of its Chronicle source and of the Elizabethan, instead of the classical, spirit, in language, psychology, and details of technique it is predominantly Senecan.[1] This is evident in the opening Act, wherein the Queen-mother confides to the Archbishop of Canterbury her fears for the young King who is on his way from Wales to London. Commonplaces on the instability of fortune, borrowed with little change from Senecan plays, fall from her lips. As she begins:

> Quicunq; laetis credulus rebus nimis
> Confidit, et magna potens aula cupit
> Regnare, blandum quaerit is malū, licet
> Magnū nihil sperare generosū genus
> Iubebat:

so, in spite of the Archbishop's attempts to reassure her, she ends:

> Timere didicit quisquis excelsus stetit,
> Rebusq; magnis alta clauditur quies.
> Auro venenum bibitur, ignotum casae
> Humili malū, ventisq; cunctis cognita
> Superba summo tecta nutant culmine.

The Queen's fears are soon justified. Her brother, Lord Rivers, who is escorting his nephew to London, stays for the night at Northampton, while the latter goes forward to Stony Stratford. Rivers, in the first scene of Act II, is met by Richard, accompanied by Buckingham and Hastings. They delude him with feigned hospitality, and then, while he is asleep, seize the keys

II. i. (1875). A new edition is required, based on a careful collation of all the extant MSS.

[1] For detailed illustration of Legge's verbal borrowings from the Roman dramatist see Churchill, *op. cit.* 280–375, *passim.*

of his inn, arrest him, and send him to prison. In the next scene at Stony Stratford, Grey, the King's half-brother, meets the same fate, while Richard protests with Senecan rhetoric his eternal fidelity to his weeping sovereign:

> Aquas inimicus ignis incolet,
> Sulcabit[1] astra nauis, et saeuo mari
> Ignota quercus surget, oblitum tui
> Si quando falsa corrumpat fides.[2]

The third Act returns to the palace in London, and its opening scenes, as Prof. Churchill has acutely noted,[3] are partly modelled on those in the *Hippolytus* after Phaedra's suit to her son-in-law has been rejected. An *ancilla* describes to the Archbishop of York the pitiful state of the Queen after the news of the arrest of Rivers and Grey, in words closely reminiscent of the picture of Phaedra given by her *nutrix*:

> Non sustinet labante mox collo caput,
> Largo madescunt imbre profusae genae,
> Cor triste magnis aestuat doloribus.
> Cultum decorū regiae vestis procul
> Remouet, et eximij rubores muricis.[4]
> Quieta nunquā constat, huc illuc fugit,
> Tolli iubet iterumq; poni corpora.

And as Phaedra is revealed ordering her servants to remove her magnificent robes, so a curtain is drawn[5] showing the Queen in sanctuary at Westminster, with her five daughters and maids about her, 'sittinge on packes, fardells, chistes, coffers' in which she has conveyed her treasures from the palace. His Grace of York, like his brother of Canterbury, seeks to comfort her with Senecan commonplaces, though when, as Lord Chancellor, he delivers to her the 'magnum sygillum', classical conventions are abruptly left behind. A characteristically Elizabethan atmosphere also pervades the next scene, deftly developed by Legge from the chronicler's account of 'greate commocion and murmure' when the Thames

[1] fulcabit (L). [2] fide (L).
[3] *op. cit.* 287–8. [4] maricis (L).
[5] This scene, and that in the third *Actio* where the dead bodies of the murdered princes are suddenly exposed to view (*infra*, p. 123), show that the play was acted on an outer and inner stage, divided by a curtain or 'traverse'.

was found to be guarded by Gloucester's men in boats. Across the stage 'artificers come running out with clubs and staves',[1] and they are met by nobles, 'some armed with privy coates with gownes throwne over, some unarmed,' all at odds as to the significance of what is taking place. One seeks to rouse the citizens:

Vrbs, vrbs, ciues ad arma, ad arma.

Another thinks that the Queen has some sinister design:

Quidnā parat regina crudelis malum?

Another prays for the safety of the King:

At te deus pusille princeps muniat.

Hastings, however, calms the tumult till Edward arrives, escorted by Gloucester and the 'praetor Londinensis', and greets his capital in phrases suggested by Thyestes' joyful outburst on his return to Argos:

Vrbs chara salue, tanta nunquam gaudia
Post tot ruinas Asiae Argiuis,[2] nunquam
Optata patriae regna, et argolicas opes
Cum bella post tam longa primi viserent.

The fourth Act follows the Chronicle closely. In a long scene the Council, which Legge, with characteristic Tudor ignoring of Parliament, calls the 'Senatus', discusses the question of removing the little Duke of York from his mother. Richard, as Protector, gives the lead to the debate, but it is Buckingham who discourses at length on the limits of the right of asylum.[3] From the modern point of view, nothing could be less dramatic than this technical discussion, but Legge, in here somewhat elaborating his original, felt all the gusto of a teacher of law in expounding a knotty case. And in the next scene, where the Archbishop of York again visits the Queen to plead with her for the surrender of the little Duke to

[1] This and the following stage directions are from the Emmanuel MS.; they are not in either of the Harleian MSS.

[2] argiuas (L).

[3] Barron Field, in his edition of the play, pp. 90–9, transferred the whole of Buckingham's speech, except the first 17 lines, to Richard. But the chroniclers assign this discourse to Buckingham. Legge doubtless followed them, and the MSS. of the play are therefore right in giving the speech to Buckingham.

be a companion to his brother, Legge's experience with young pupils must have brought the situation home to him with special poignancy. Thus he works up the Queen's retort, that boys often prefer a stranger to a brother as a playfellow:

Pueris lites magis placent domesticae,
Suumq; uulnus sentiunt statim fratrū
Turbata pectora, atq; se minus pati
Possunt; magis lusore quouis gestiet
Quam fratre cognatus puer, et statim
Admissa sordescit voluptas, nec diu
Domesticae placere dilitiae queant.

Not till near the close of the scene, when the distracted mother has at last been persuaded that there is less danger in surrendering her son than in keeping him, does the play depart from almost verbal reproduction of the Chronicle. Then the situation recalls that of Andromache yielding up Astyanax, and a long lament adapted from the *Troades* is put into the Queen's mouth, culminating in the application to Richard of the Senecan simile of a lion robbing a dam of her young.[1]

At the opening of Act V, Seneca supplies another parallel. Catesby describes Richard's position, with his nephews securely trapped, in terms borrowed from Atreus's soliloquy when he has got the sons of Thyestes into his power. But with the entrance of Buckingham, Legge proves that, besides borrowing verbally from Seneca, he can make effective independent use of his technique. Catesby has been commissioned by Gloucester to persuade the Duke, whom alone he fears, to concur in his design of seizing the throne for himself. He warns the Duke that the young King will take vengeance on him for the violence done to his relatives. The argument between them is carried on in στιχομυθία which expresses forcibly the tension of the situation:

Buck. Furor breuis pueri statim restinguitur.
Cates. At ira preceps est magis pueri leuis.
. . . . . .
Buck. Quod non tueri salubre consilium potest?
Cates. Quod principi uestrum[2] necem solum uetat.
Buck. Pulsabit usq; matris ira filium?
Cates. Nocere mortuus nihil gnatus potest.
Buck. Mali medela sola tollere principem?

[1] Cf. Churchill, *op. cit.* 292-3.

[2] uestro (L).

Thus Catesby has adroitly confronted Buckingham with the idea of the young King's death as a contingency within view, and he follows this up by emphasizing the uncertainty of the Duke's own fortunes, beset as he is by the Protector's spies. By supporting Richard's designs he will at once secure his own safety and preserve the young King's life at the cost of his crown. Buckingham surrenders to this skilful attack, consoled by the reflection that the boy King would have ruled only in name:

> Iactura parua principis uitam suam
> Seruare si possis, parum pueros decent
> Decora regni; matris hoc regnū inuidae,
> Haud regis esset.

The episodes that follow, the compact between Richard and Buckingham, the warning of Stanley to Hastings, the arrest of the latter at the Council and his execution, and the penance imposed on his mistress, Shore's wife, as a sorceress, are taken without change from the Chronicle. But it is noticeable how large a part is played by the Senecan confidants, Catesby and Howard. The former advises that the royal brothers should be sent to the Tower, he sacrifices Hastings to his own ambitions, and he urges the Protector to strike at him through Shore's wife. Howard bids Richard put to death the Queen's relatives who are imprisoned at Pontefract, and it is he who hurries Hastings to the fatal council-meeting. Thus, the use of Senecan machinery has the remarkable result of putting Richard in a secondary place at the very crisis of his career. It is difficult to recognize the Richard of tradition in the Duke trembling between hope and fear[1]:

> Spes concutit mentem, metusq; turbidam,
> Trepidumq; gemino pectus euentu labat.
> Imago regni semper errat ante oculos mihi,
> Et usq; dubium impellit ambitio grauis,
> Turbatq; pectus—

and who has to be reminded by a counsellor:

> Audebit omnia quisquis imperio regit:
> Et dura tractat sceptra regali manu.

[1] Cf. Churchill, *op. cit.* 301–2.

There is a similarly paradoxical element in the second *Actio*, which though divided into five Acts is so much shorter than the first and third, that even with the 'showe of the Coronation' it must have formed a brief entertainment. In the opening scene Richard is considering what his next move should be, and here again it is a confidant, Lovel, who stands pre-eminent in initiative and resource. It is he who proposes the postponement of the coronation to November, and bids Richard meanwhile take advantage of the uncertainty among the nobles to seize the throne; it is he, too, who sees that the citizens must be won over by some one of authority amongst themselves. It is then that Richard propounds the fictitious tale of the bastardy of his brothers and his nephews, and suggests the Mayor of London as the fittest instrument for persuading the populace of its truth. Lovel improves on this by the astute proposal that a preacher should give the tale religious authority, and when Buckingham suggests the name of Dr. Shaw, the Mayor's brother, it is Lovel who originates the ingenious device of Richard's appearance in person at the crucial point of the sermon, 'quasi coelitus repente lapsus'.

While the Senecan influence is thus manifest, the scene seems also tinged by the gownsman's animosity towards the citizens and their officials which was soon to affect strongly the academic stage. Where the Chronicle gives him a lead, Legge is nothing loath to describe the populace as gullible and superstitious, and the Mayor's character takes at his hands a darker colour than before:

> Vanos honores ambit et fluxas opes,
> Multumq; auarae mentis instigat furor.
> Reddet fidelem spes honoris improbum,[1]
> Et pellet vsq; longa nūmorum sitis.

In the scenes that follow to the close of Act III, dealing with the failure of the plot, and the manœuvres by which Buckingham subsequently gets Richard acclaimed King, the dramatist follows the Chronicle minutely. In Act IV, however, he gives himself a freer rein. He works up a hint in his original into a Senecan dialogue between the conscience-stricken Dr. Shaw and a consoling friend, and he makes this

[1] improba (L).

friend attend at Westminster Hall, which Richard chooses for his first address to his new subjects as the place—

Vbi voce lex Anglis loqui viua solet.

And again Legge's professional zeal as a civilian reveals itself in his elaboration of Richard's words into a glowing panegyric on law and lawyers:

Rex providere debet id potissimū
Vt vrbiū colūna lex firmissima
In curia dominetur aequali potens.
. . . . . .
Vos laudo patres iure doctos patrio
Qui continetis legibus rempublicam,
Ne iurgijs lacerata mutuis Anglia
Languescat, amplo vos honore persequar.

The new King declares that an era of peace and union has begun, but Act V, which is of Legge's invention, gives a glimpse of the lurking unrest and suspicion. A citizen is waiting with a guest to see the coronation procession pass, and they discuss the situation in a dialogue suggested by several Senecan passages. In reply to his guest's strictures, the citizen, who is evidently alarmed for his own safety, makes a half-hearted defence of the usurper:

Hosp. Vbi reguli duo? nefas regere patruū
Hi dū supersunt.
Civis. Hoc facit regni sitis.
In arce regni carceris caeci luem
Patiuntur.
Hosp. O scelus:
Civis. sed principis tamē.
Hosp. Magis hoc nefandū:
Civis. propter imperiū simul.
Hosp. Pietas decet regem, nec impio licet
Parare regnū pretio.
Civis. Semper tamen
Imperia constant pretio bene quolibet.
Hosp. Nunquā diu male parta succedunt.
Civis. Satis
Semel est regere.

When the procession begins to cross the stage the conversation turns into an explanation by the citizen of the symbolic meaning of the royal insignia, nominally in answer to his guest's

queries, but doubtless in reality for the instruction of the audience in St. John's hall.

In the third *Actio* the problem of a sovereign's right to override moral law is again raised, in its acutest form. Richard has resolved on his most heinous crime, the murder of his nephews, but Brakenbury, the keeper of the Tower, in spite of his fears of the tyrant, cannot bring himself to execute the deed. Tyrell, a more pliant instrument, appears with the demand for the keys of the Tower, and sets forth the doctrine of passive obedience to the royal will:

Tir. Annon decet mandata regis exequi?
Br. Nūquam decet iubere regem pessima.
Tir. Fas est eos uiuere quos princeps oderit?
Br. Nefas eos[1] odisse, quos omnes amant.
Tir. Regni metu angi principem nū aequū putas?

Tyrell employs Dighton and Forest to do the awful deed, and while it is taking place behind the scenes he gives Brakenbury a highly coloured account of Richard's wrath at the Lieutenant's refusal to kill the princes, followed by the tale (taken from the Chronicle) of how the task was offered to himself. From the modern point of view the speech is strangely out of place, but it was doubtless intended by the playwright to ease the strain of a wellnigh intolerable situation. Similarly, when the deed is done, and Dighton reveals the bodies of the hapless pair stretched on their bed, the rhetorical lamentations of Brakenbury, though to us they have a falsetto ring, relieve the naked anguish of the appalling sight:

Videone corpora regulorū liuida?
Funestus heu iam caede puerili torus.
Quis lachrimas durus[2] malis uultus negat?
Hei mihi perempti patrui fraude iacent.
Quis Colchus haec? quae Caspium tangens mare
Gens audet? aut quae sedis incertae Scythia?
Nunquā tuas Busiris aspersit ferox
Puerilis aras sanguis aut gregibus suis
Epulanda parua membra Diomedes dedit.

This 'inkhorn' declamation lacked the exquisite touches of poetry and natural feeling which ennobled Shakespeare's

[1] est (L). [2] duris (L).

relation of the murder, but it doubtless had the same antiseptic effect on its particular audience.[1]

It is remarkable that, while a scene immediately follows showing the affliction of Queen Elizabeth when she hears news of the deed, no report of it is made to Richard in the play, nor does he ever allude to it. Yet it is evidently meant to be the *περιπέτεια*. Henceforward, irresistible forces push Richard to his doom. In the long-drawn second Act, where the protracted speeches must have made severe demands both on the performers and their hearers, Buckingham, alienated by the murder, plots with the Bishop of Ely and sends messengers to the Countess of Richmond and to Queen Elizabeth to arrange a marriage between Richmond and Elizabeth of York. It is not till the third Act that Richard himself reappears, with a Senecan lamentation on the fickleness of fortune:

> Fortuna fallax rebus humanis nimis
> Insultat agili cuncta peruertens rota.
> Quos modo locauit parte suprema, modo
> Ad ima eosdem trudit, et calcat pede.
> Subito labantis ecce fortunae impetu
> Quis non patentem cernit euersam domum?

His only son is dead; Richmond is preparing an invasion; Buckingham, erstwhile his dearest friend, is in revolt. His only resource is to regain the favour of the populace by a policy of bribery and hypocritical piety:

> Iam mitis, humanus, pius
> Et liberalis ciuibus meis ero,
> Et scelere vindicabo nomen impio.
> Scentū sacrificijs[2] alta surgent moenia
> Curis soluti vt precibus incumbant pijs,
> Legesq; patriae vtiles ferā meae.

But the news of the betrayal and capture of Buckingham wrings from him the tyrant's wonted bloodthirsty cry:

[1] Prof. Churchill's failure to appreciate this leads him, in my opinion, to do injustice to Legge's treatment of the episode. 'This scene is the climax of Legge's play, and its proper handling required—in Legge's mind—an abundance of Senecan rhetoric . . . The sole embellishment is declamation. The murder is drily and hastily related, and its natural pathos is lost in the classic wail which runs the gamut from Procrustes to Nero. Add to this the absurdity of Tyrell's long narration, destroying all suspense on the part of the waiting listeners, and Legge's climactic scene becomes his most conspicuous failure' (*op. cit.* 325-6).

[2] sacrificij (L).

Si non fides me sacra regno continet
Tentabo mea stabilire sceptra[1] sanguine,
Et regna duro saeuus imperio regam.
Nunc ergo dux poenas grauissimas luat,
Obrumpat ensis noxiū tristis caput;

and the Act closes with a view of Buckingham on his way to execution, bewailing in his turn the fickleness of fate—

O blandientis lubricū sortis genus—

though he confesses, too, that he has met a deserved Nemesis:

Funestus heu dirusq; Richardi fauor.
Quid illa deplorem miser tempora, quib[9]
Fretus meo consilio aper frendens sibi
Regnum cruento dente raptū comparat?
En huius ictu nunc atroce corruo.

In the following Act the influence of Senecan machinery once again reduces Richard to the sorry position of a puppet in the hands of bold and resourceful counsellors. The news that a trap to catch Richmond on the Dorset coast has failed plunges him into a fit of despair for which Lovel has a caustic rebuke:

Cur vexat animum cura vaesanum grauis?
Vbi prisca virtus?
. . . . . .
Quorsum ducis manes tremescis mortui?
Quorsū rebelles caeteros? annon iacent
Terra sepulti? puluerem demens times?

Catesby follows with the practical proposal that Richard should prevent a marriage between Richmond and Elizabeth. The King at once is eager to forbid the banns with 'districtus ensis', but Lovel advises him to induce Edward's widow to send her two daughters to Court, and Catesby suggests that in the event of his wife's death Richard himself might wed his niece. Again the tyrant's thoughts fly to violence, 'hanc decet laetho dari,' but Lovel suggests more subtle methods of getting rid of the Queen. From the details of her dying symptoms, given with medical fullness in a later scene, she would appear to have been poisoned, and Richard is left free to woo his niece, whom, with her sister, Lovel had succeeded in

[1] regna (L). [9] sibi (L).

winning from her mother's side. With callous precipitancy he at once enters on his suit:

> Nunc fausta neptis ambio connubia,
> Neptisq; fallam frustra promissos thoros.

The scene is not directly inspired by the Chronicle, but is modelled, as Churchill has pointed out, upon the wooing of Megara in the *Hercules Furens* by the tyrant Lycus, who has murdered her father and two of her brothers.

Like Megara, the princess rejects with loathing the offers of the man whose hands are red with her brothers' blood. Richard admits his crime, but declares that it is now beyond recall or remedy:

> Cecidere fratres? doleo, facti poenitet.
> Sunt mortui? factū prius nequit infici.
> Num flebo mortuos? lachrimae nihil valent.

He offers in expiation—and this touch is due to Legge alone—to kill himself or to accept death at her hands:

> Quid uis facerem? an fratrū geminā necē
> Hac dextra effuso rependā sanguine?
> Faciam; paratis ensibus pectus dabo,
> Et si placet magis moriar ulnis tuis.

When the princess retorts with the bitterest scorn,

> Sit amor, sīt odiū, sit ira, vel sit fides,
> Non curo, placet odisse, quicquid cogitas;

Richard changes his note:

> Est imperandi principi duplex uia
> Amor et Metus, vtrumq; regibus vtile.
> Cogere—
> *Filia.* Si cogas mori sequar lubens
> *Rich.* Moriere?
> *Filia.* Grata mors erit magis mihi.

And with execrations on the unnatural union she flees from her uncle's sight. His thoughts are, however, immediately diverted by the news that Richmond has failed to gain support, and has resolved to live in exile.

For the moment the King breathes freely:

> Finis hic malorū erit.
> Tutò licet regnare[1]: iam cessat timor.

[1] regnare licet (L).

But it is a lying report, and Act V deals with the victorious progress of the Earl from Milford Haven to Bosworth Field. There is little here of strictly dramatic interest, but what is remarkable is the way in which Legge, with his scrupulous fidelity to his sources, brought the whole campaign upon the St. John's stage. He was evidently anxious for as much animation and 'realism' as possible, and this probably accounts for the otherwise incongruous episode of men fleeing (represented by 'diuerse mutes running over the stage from diuerse places for feare'), in spite of the entreaties of wives and mothers, as soon as the arrival of Richmond is announced. In another later episode, based on the Chronicle, Bourchier and Hungerford are seen wandering by night, seeking to join Richmond's army, and also 'diuerse mutes, armed souldiers runne ouer y^e^ stage on after an other' to his side. But the Earl, in musing upon his father-in-law Stanley's delay in joining him, becomes separated from his army, and is also seen wandering in the darkness. At daybreak he is welcomed back to his followers by the Earl of Oxford, and later the meeting with Stanley takes place, though the latter can only promise his stepson secret aid.

From these incidents during the march of the invaders, the play turns to Richard standing at bay, terrified by visions of the night:

> Postquam sepulta nox quietem suaserat,
> Altusq; [1] teneris somnus obrepsit genis,
> Subito premebant [2] dira furiarum cohors,
> Saeuoq; lacerauit [3] impetu corpus tremens,
> Et foeda rapidis praeda sum daemonibus.

And for the last time a confidant, the Duke of Norfolk, bids him play the man:

> Quid somnia tremis? noctis et vanas minas?
> Quid falsa terrent mentis et ludibria?
> Iam strictus ensis optimū auguriū canit.

Richard recovers himself sufficiently to address his army in a speech of exhortation, which is followed by a similar speech from Richmond.

[1] altus (L). [2] premebant (MSS.).
[3] The line is unmetrical; query, lacerant.

The battle is then joined, and though it takes place off the stage, nothing was omitted to bring home to the audience that a desperate encounter was taking place. The stage-direction runs 'lett gunnes goe of, and trumpettes sounde, w^th^ all sturre of souldiers w^th^out y^e^ hall'[1]; while at intervals during the din Lord Stanley and Lord Northumberland appeared with their followers, and after short speeches led them to the field. Thereafter, a captain came running 'after a souldier or towe, with a sworde drawne driuinge them agayne to the feilde'. Finally, in the words of the detailed stage-direction:

'After the like noyse made agayne let souldiours runne from the feilde, ouer the stage on after another, flinginge of their harneys, and at length some come haltinge and wounded. After this lett Henery, Earle of Ritchmond come triumphinge, haveinge the body of Kinge Richarde deade on a horse: Catsbye, Racliffe and others bounde.'

A *nuntius* then announces that the conflict is decided, Richard has fallen, after proving himself a true warrior, who would have gained eternal glory had he shown his prowess against his country's foes:

> O laude bellica inclytum uerè ducem,
> Si saeua Gallus arma sensisset tua,
> Vel perfidus fallens datam Scotus fidem.
> Sed sceleris ultor caelitum potens pater
> Est. Sero vitam, sed satis ultus tuam.

But this farewell eulogy of his prowess comes too late to annul the impression made by Richard throughout the long three-part play. As has appeared from the preceding discussion, the inevitable result of Legge's Senecan method was to rob him of the overpowering personality which alone could lend tragic grandeur to his career of crime. This gloomy, timorous tyrant, who has to be egged on to his misdeeds by his counsellors, and who has no conscience to arraign him at the last with a 'thousand several tongues', is a strange contrast to Shakespeare's superman, towering in will and intellect above his fellows, and waging relentless war against a world in which

[1] Here, as with the imitation fox-hunt in Christ Church quadrangle during the performance of *Palamon and Arcyte* (*supra*, p. 103), the stage was virtually extended beyond the limits of the college hall.

his misshapen form makes him an alien. Legge's Richard is, in fact, more akin to Macbeth, though he lacks the sombre splendour thrown round the Scottish Chieftain by the fevered working of his imagination, and the wild pageantry, natural and supernatural, through which he moves to his doom.

But a Cambridge audience in 1579 had no wish to make such comparisons even had they been possible. It was enough for the company assembled in St. John's hall that on three successive nights they saw exhibited a play which handled recent English history with the seriousness and lofty purpose hitherto reserved for classical and Biblical themes; which, while departing from Seneca's principles of plot-construction, delighted his worshippers with countless reminiscences of his phraseology and typical scenes; and which exploited to the full the spectacular resources of the University stage in setting forth some of the most moving and critical episodes in the national annals. And in truth *Richardus Tertius* deserved its enthusiastic welcome, though its author had but a rudimentary sense of character-drawing, and could not distinguish the perspective of tragedy from that of history. With it the English Chronicle-play was for the first time lifted into the sphere of self-conscious though derivative art.

Though we cannot fix with certainty the date of any subsequent performances, the enduring popularity of the play is attested by the number of surviving manuscripts, and by the variety of contemporary allusions. Thus, Sir John Harington, in his *Apologie of Poetrie* (1591), bears witness to the moral impression made by the work when he declares that 'to omit other famous Tragedies that that was played at *S. Iohns* in Cambridge, of *Richard* the 3, would moue, (I thinke) Phalaris the tyraunt, and terrifie all tyrannous minded men from following their foolish ambitious humours'. But if the story told by Fuller in his *Worthies* (1662) is to be believed, the performance of the title part had a fatal effect on its first representative, John Palmer, a Fellow of St. John's, who later became Master of Magdalene College and Dean of Peterborough. He 'had his head so possest with a *prince-like humour* that ever after *he did* what then he *acted*, in his prodigal expences; so that (the *cost* of a *Sovereign* ill befitting the

purse of a *Subject*) he died *poor* in *prison*, notwithstanding his great *preferment*'.[1]

The memory of another performer, who took the one-line part of the first lord in *Actio I*, is preserved by Nash in the Epistle Dedicatorie to *Have with you to Saffron-Walden* (1596), where he has a punning reference to the '*qui quae codshead* that in the Latine Tragedie of *K. Richard*, cride, *Ad vrbs, ad vrbs, ad vrbs*, when his whole Part was no more, but *Vrbs, vrbs, ad arma, ad arma*'.

Greene, who was Nash's senior at St. John's, proceeding B.A. in 1578, and M.A. (from Clare Hall) in 1583, must have been equally familiar with the play, as also doubtless was Marlowe, who entered Benet College in March 1581. These two Cambridge dramatists were afterwards, in all probability, joint authors of *The First Part of the Contention* and *The True Tragedie of Richard, Duke of Yorke*, and Marlowe, at least, seems to have had a hand in *Henry VI*, Parts II and III, which were founded upon them. Gloster, as he appears in Part III, is a truly Marlowesque figure, and he is developed by Shakespeare in *Richard III* on kindred lines. How different this conception is from Legge's has already been shown. Yet there is much that suggests that through his Cambridge collaborators Shakespeare knew something of the St. John's play. Alone among his Chronicle-histories *Richard III* has distinctively Senecan features. Its flights of semi-lyrical declamation, its frequent use of στιχομυθία, its lurid colouring, all have their parallels in Legge's tragedy. And apart from minor verbal coincidences, the two wooing scenes in the Shakesperian play, that of Anne (Act I, Sc. ii) and of King Edward's daughter through her mother (Act IV, Sc. iv), both seem reminiscent of Richard's courtship of his niece in the Cambridge drama. The Chronicle contains no hint of the scene between Gloster and Anne, for which Legge's play offers the most plausible source, especially as in both cases the wooer offers to atone for his crimes by death at the hands of the lady. The Latin lines quoted above[2] seem reproduced in the cry:

[1] II. 156 (edition of 1811). [2] *supra*, p. 126.

Lo, here I lend thee this sharp-pointed sword,
Which if thou please to hide in this true bosom,
And let the soul forth that adoreth thee,
I lay it naked to the deadly stroke,
And humbly beg the death upon my knee.

The later dialogue with Queen Elizabeth concerning her daughter, of whom Holinshed merely says that Richard 'began to cast a foolish fantasie to ladie Elizabeth his neece; making much sute to haue hir ioined with him in lawfull matrimonie', recalls in its swift and sententious dialectic the method of Legge, as in the lines:

K. Rich. Say that the King, which may command, entreats—
Q. Eliz. That at her hands which the King's King forbids.
K. Rich. Say, she shall be a high and mighty queen—
Q. Eliz. To wail the title, as her mother doth.

Whether or not *Richardus Tertius* helped to inspire *Richard III* it was not immediately eclipsed by the latter. For Meres, writing in 1598, probably some five years after the production of the Shakesperian play, and after the publication of at least the first quarto, could still put 'Doctor Leg of Cambridge' in the same list as Shakespeare among 'our best for Tragedie', and even selected Legge out of the fourteen names in the list to illustrate the parallelism between the ancients and the moderns:

'As M. Anneus Lucanus writ two excellent tragedies, one called *Medea*, the other *De incendio Troiae cum Priami calamitate*; so Doctor Leg hath penned two famous tragedies, the one of *Richard the 3*, the other of *The Destruction of Ierusalem*.'

Concerning the latter play we have nothing but Fuller's enigmatical statement: 'Having at last refined it to the *purity of the publique Standard*, some Plageary filched it from him, just as it was to be acted.'[1] It would have been of great interest to compare Legge's dramatic treatment of Jewish and of English history. But his single extant play is enough to ensure him a unique place amongst academic

[1] *Worthies*, ii. 156.

dramatists, for he seems to have been the first and the last among them, as far as our records show, to bring recent episodes of English history upon the stage.[1]

[1] *Byrsa Basilica seu Regale Excambium*, an academic comedy, apparently by J. Rickets, is not an historical play, though it introduces Gresham, the founder of the Royal Exchange in 1570, under the name of Rialto. Prof. Churchill, who gives an analysis of the play in the *Shakspere-Jahrbuch*, xliii. 282–5, is mistaken in assigning it to the year of the foundation of the Exchange, and in suggesting that it was probably acted before Gresham. It belongs to the reign of Charles I, for in Act I. vii. (f. 7) a forged letter is introduced, dated Aug. 20, 1633, and in III. ii. (f. 18) three ships bear the names of Charolus, Maria, and Jacobus.

CHAPTER VII

CAMBRIDGE COMEDIES OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

THERE appears to have been some Italian blood in Legge's veins. If so, tragedy at Cambridge, as at Oxford in the case of Grimald's plays, owed something to inherited southern aptitude for dramatization. However this may be, academic comedy was henceforward to show unequivocal marks of direct Italian influence.

The birth of Italian comedy may be placed in the first decade of the sixteenth century, when Ariosto's *La Cassaria* (1508) and *I Suppositi* (1509) were produced in their prose form, as also Machiavelli's lost *Le Maschere*. These were followed in the next two decades by other plays from the same hands, and by the *Calandria* (1513) of Bibbiena. Among the crowd of later Cinquecento dramatists are Aretino, Lodovico Dolce, Cecchi, Grazzini, and Giordano Bruno. All these writers, though they differed in literary and dramatic gifts, followed a uniform method. They adapted the types and technique of Roman Comedy, themselves based on those of the Attic New Comedy, to the special conditions of Renaissance Italy. While preserving the familiar features of classical 'burgher-comedy' and its traditional structure, they added new types and modified some others. Thus with the merchant, the gallant, the parasite, and the braggart there now mingle the more modern figures of the clerical confessor, the pedant, the doctors of medicine and of law, and the sorcerer, while the heroine rises in social position, and is accompanied by a nurse instead of a *lena*.[1] These and kindred changes are mainly due to the dramatists' own observations of the life around them, but they owe something to another and older Italian literary form—the *novella*. Boccaccio, Bandello,

[1] See for a full discussion of the subject R. W. Bond, *Early Plays from the Italian* (1911), xvii–l.

Cinthio, and other tellers of tales helped to provide materials for the plays of their fellow countrymen.

It was inevitable, with the close intercourse between Tudor England and Italy, that the influence of the southern theatre and novel should penetrate both learned and popular circles beyond the Channel. It is noticeable, however, that not one of the seven plays acted before Elizabeth at Cambridge and Oxford in 1564 and 1566 was of Italian origin. Yet it was in the year of the royal visit to Oxford that the Italian novel and play were successfully naturalized in England by the performance at Gray's Inn of Gascoigne's *Supposes*, adapted from Ariosto's *I Suppositi*, and by the publication of the first part of Painter's *Pallace of Pleasure* including in its delectable miscellany translations from Boccaccio and Bandello. Next year the second part of Painter's work appeared, with more Italian stories, and also Geoffrey Fenton's *Tragicall Discourses* from Bandello *via* Belleforest. It was in vain that Ascham thundered in his *Scholemaster* against 'the fonde bookes, of late translated out of *Italian* into English, sold in euery shop in London, commended by honest titles the soner to corrupt honest maners'. The *novella* had come to take firm root in England with consequences as far beyond the vision of Painter and Fenton as of Ascham himself.

So too with Italian and kindred plays. As another Puritan controversialist, Stephen Gosson, was to bewail in *Playes Confuted in Five Actions* (1582), 'baudie Comedies, in Latine, French, Italian, and Spanish have been thoroughly ransackt to furnish the Playe-houses in London.' Perhaps included in Gosson's condemnation was *The Buggbears*, of unknown authorship and uncertain date, an adaptation of Grazzini's *L Spiritata* (1561), with episodes from *Gl'Ingannati* and the *Andria* of Terence. The visit of Italian players, who in 1574 followed the Queen's Progress, 'and made pastyme fyrst at Wynsor and afterwardes at Reading,'[1] must have helped to familiarize Englishmen with the theatrical art of the peninsula.

The first University play with a plot of undoubted Italian origin is *Hymenaeus*, acted at St. John's, probably in March

[1] A. Feuillerat, *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels*, 225.

1578/9, and preserved in two MSS. in that College and in Caius.[1] Its *provenance* was apparently not recognized, for the anonymous author[2] protests in the prologue against the allegation that he has refurbished some one else's play, and states the source of his work (26-33):

> Nam, quod quidam dictitant malevoli,
> Alienam nos dare vobis comoediam
> Vestitu novo immutatam paululum,
> Aut suam nimis produnt inscitiam,
> Aut (si videri ignorantes nolunt) malitiam.
> Nam huic comoediae dedit olim materiam
> Plus trecentis hinc annis in Decamero Bocatius
> Cum chirurgum Rogerus inhoneste falleret.

'Rogerus' is Ruggieri of Salerno, whose story is told in the 10th novella of the fourth day, and though the Cambridge author dates the *Decamerone* almost a hundred years too early, he seems to have known it in the original, for no English version of the tale of Ruggieri had yet appeared.[3] In any case, he treated it very freely, and he is justified in his claim that his play is original in characters, mounting, and dénouement (37-9):

> Personas, ornatum, exiguam supellectilem,
> Finemque adeo nostra esse spondeo,
> Nec a quopiam mutuata propter inopiam.

In the novel, Ruggieri carries on an intrigue with the young wife of the old surgeon Mazzeo. Visiting her one night, during her husband's absence, he drinks by mistake an opiate made ready by the surgeon for a patient who is to undergo an operation, and falls into a deathlike stupor. The lady,

[1] It has been edited from the MSS. by G. C. Moore Smith (1908), from whose text my references are taken.

[2] He may have been Abraham Fraunce, whose *Victoria* was written about the same time, and possibly acted in the same year as *Hymenaeus* at St. John's. A point in favour of Fraunce's authorship of *Hymenaeus* is that, though *Victoria* is an adaptation of Pasqualigo's play *Il Fedele*, it includes an episode taken from one of the tales in the *Decamerone* (cf. *infra*, p. 145). It is evident, therefore, that Fraunce, who played Ferdinandus in *Hymenaeus*, was reading Boccaccio's work at this period. It has also been suggested that the comedy may have been written by Henry Hickman, a Fellow of the College, who played the part of the leading character, Erophilus.

[3] The tale, as far as is known, was first put into English in the anonymous translation of the whole *Decamerone* in 1620.

thinking him to be really dead, consults with her maid about getting him out of the house, and at her suggestion they place him in a chest standing in front of a neighbouring joiner's shop. Two usurers, who had just taken a house in the same street, steal the chest and leave it in their wives' room. Ruggieri, waking from his trance before daylight, upsets the chest, and so alarms the usurers' wives that they rush to the window with cries of 'thieves'. A crowd collects, Ruggieri is seized by officers, and after being put to the rack is sentenced to be hanged as a robber. The news reaches his mistress, who also learns from her husband on his return the secret of the opiate, and further hears from her maid the account of how Ruggieri was taken to the usurers' house. To save at the same time his life and her lady's honour, the maid tells the judge the whole story, with the substitution of herself for her mistress as Ruggieri's paramour. The judge is highly amused, sets the prisoner free, and fines the usurers.

The tale is one of Boccaccio's narrative masterpieces, but the adapter sought to make it more suitable to ingenuous youth, and to elaborate both the comic and the serious situations. He laid the scene in the University town of Padua, and turned the scapegrace Ruggieri into the student Erophilus, son of a rich Venetian merchant. The heroine, now christened Julia, is transformed from an intriguing wife into a girl, daughter of old Alphonsus, who is not a surgeon, but the patient for whom the opiate is prepared. The doctor necessary to the plot is provided in the boastful Pantomagus, a rival for Julia's hand, and there is a third suitor, the drunken German Fredericus. In the novel the heroine's maid is a prominent figure; in the play she is relatively less important, for all the main characters have confidential servants, while Erophilus has a further adviser in his friend Camillus.

This multiplication of characters extends the action considerably. There is in fact scarcely any material from the novel in the first half of the comedy, which sets forth the rivalries of the wooers and their satellites. Fredericus, who talks a medley of Latin, Dutch, and German, is an amusing figure, but he is more sketchily drawn than Pantomagus, the medical braggart and quack, who declares to his servant (II. ii. 87–91):

Non tritam teneo medicinae viam,
Hippocratem non curo, Galenum negligo,
Sed nec mihi placet Paracelsus admodum.
Novam ego Cabalisticam artis inveni viam.

Alphonsus, impressed by his high-sounding pretentions and his wealth, favours his suit, and when he finds Erophilus making love to Julia he harshly drives him from his door. But at the suggestion of Camillus the young lover returns disguised as the leader of a band of masquers, who pay a surprise visit to Alphonsus while he is giving a birthday feast, and thus gets an opportunity of making an assignation with Julia at night. This episode is an invention of the playwright, who was doubtless unconscious that he was thereby substituting a sixteenth for a fourteenth century background. It is also ingeniously used to account for the presence of the chest which is essential to the plot. A consignment of sea-borne merchandise arrives for Camillus (II. iv). As he is in a hurry to take part in the masque, and as the chest containing the goods is too big to be brought into his father's house, which is next to that of Alphonsus, he orders it to be unloaded out of doors, and left there empty.

But it is a weakness in construction that, immediately after the feast, the unexpected announcement should be made by Pantomagus (III. iii. 8) that Alphonsus is suffering from stone and that he must operate upon him. He sends for an opiate, but as the patient asks for a respite till the morning, he puts it meanwhile in the keeping of Averina, Julia's maid, who sets it down by the window of her mistress's room, while she is on the look-out to admit Erophilus.

It will be noted that the whole action of the comedy takes place in the street in front of the 'houses'. There appears on this occasion to have been no inner stage, though for *Richardus Tertius* this must have been provided.[1] The simplicity of the stage arrangements, combined with the author's true dramatic instinct, gives the comedy an advantage over the novel at the critical moment of the plot. Boccaccio tells how the lover drinks the draught, and becomes stupefied. At the opening of Act IV of the play, the spectators merely see Julia at the

[1] *supra*, p. 117.

door of her father's house lamenting over the apparently lifeless body of Erophilus. They are entirely in the dark as to what has happened to him within doors, and thus an atmosphere of dramatic suspense is created which lasts till near the end of the play.

A couple of professional thieves laden with plunder (instead of usurers as in the novel) carry off the chest in which the lover is deposited, and bring it to an inn whose landlord is their confederate. This worthy, who may well have had some Cambridge prototype, is a sworn foe to scholars (IV. ii. 28–36):

> Est adeo in hac civitate quoddam genus hominum,
> Imperiosum, superbum, argutum, sophisticum,
> Quos suo verbo scholares nominant.
> In eorum quenquam si possem incidere,
> Vt meos in illum catulos immitterem!
> Nos enim oppidani, qui Patavium incolimus,
> Hos cane peius et angue odio persequimur,
> At non hoc nobis solis convenit,
> Hoc ipsum alibi quoque dicunt fieri.

It is a deftly ironical stroke that, while the innkeeper is uttering this tirade, a scholar is being carried into his house who is unwittingly to bring his nefarious practices to light. For Erophilus, waking later from his trance, alarms the thieves, and a set-to takes place, which brings to the inn the 'duumvir' and his men. Anxious to find out how Erophilus made his mysterious entry, the officer insists on searching the house, and discovering the stolen goods he arrests the whole party.

Meanwhile, Erophilus's servant has carried the news of his supposed death to his father at Venice, and, in Act V, Ferdinandus arrives at Padua to learn further details and to arrange for his funeral. He calls upon Alphonsus, who is indignant at the statement that Erophilus has been carried dead out of his house, till Julia confesses that it is true and offers to bear any penalty. From her lips and those of the two fathers there rises a *crescendo* of lamentation:

Jul. Summe ego misera, tam diri causa mali.
Alph. Summe ego miserior, qui talem filiam genui.
Fer. Sed summe ego miserrimus, qui filium vnicum perdidi.

At this moment Erophilus re-enters, in charge of the 'duumvir', to the consternation of Pantaleo, who is sure that it is his 'spirit' (v. ii. 76-8):

> Erophili, here, malum genium video.
> Here, cave tibi, incantatores plurimi
> Hic sunt Patavij.

But though it is Erophilus himself, death still shadows him. As he cannot account for his presence in the inn, he is threatened with the capital penalty in three days. Even his father can get only negatives out of him (v. iii. 35-9):

> *Fer.* An ita te habui parce et duriter
> Vt tibi alienis opus esset bonis?
> *Ero.* Non.
> *Fer.* Quid querebas ergo?
> *Ero.* Nihil.
> *Fer.* Quis te in istas intromisit aedes?
> *Ero.* Nemo.
> *Fer.* Vnde venisti cum ad eas accederes?
> *Ero.* Nescio.

There is no hope for a prisoner who makes no defence, and Ferdinandus, after welcoming his son back to life, has the double agony of seeing him again doomed—and now to a death of shame. But by another of the ironic strokes which distinguish the play, Erophilus is delivered in his extremity through the rival who has most reason to wish him out of his path. Pantomagus, arriving to perform the operation on Alphonsus, raises an outcry when he finds that the bottle which contained the opiate is empty. Questions and explanations follow, with the result that the mystery is cleared up, Erophilus is set at liberty, and the lovers are betrothed with both their fathers' goodwill.

The more closely *Hymenaeus* is examined, in relation to its source and to the conditions under which it was performed, the more favourable will be the view taken of its author's dramatic talent. It would be difficult to point to any comedy in the vernacular, written before 1579, which equals it in technical dexterity, economy of action and dialogue, and effective blending of humour and pathos. The drunken fooling of Fredericus might be spared, and Julia's readiness to

receive her lover's midnight visit will not bear strict scrutiny. But otherwise the playwright has shown remarkable skill in borrowing Boccaccio's entertaining plot, while eliminating its uglier features. He wins for the lovers a full measure of sympathy, which certainly cannot be given to their Italian prototypes, and by adding the mourning figure of Ferdinandus he provides a semi-tragic background, scarcely bettered by Shakespeare in the Aegeon underplot in *The Comedy of Errors*.

Ferdinandus (as has been mentioned), was played by Abraham Fraunce, a Lady Margaret scholar of the College, who proceeded B.A. in the following year (1579/80), when he acted at the Bachelors' Commencement the very minor rôle of a citizen in the first two Parts of *Richardus Tertius*. Fraunce had come to St. John's from Shrewsbury school, where it was the custom for the senior boys once a week to 'declame and plaie one acte of a comedie', and where the first head master, Thomas Ashton, both wrote plays and performed them. Philip Sidney had almost certainly been his elder contemporary at Shrewsbury, and it was at Sidney's expense that he was sent to Cambridge. He was elected a Fellow of St. John's in 1580/1, and remained in residence till he had taken his M.A. in 1583. It was probably between these dates that he produced *Victoria*, a version of Luigi Pasqualigo's *Il Fedele* (first printed at Venice in 1576), which gives him a subordinate place amongst academic dramatists. Of his varied literary works in later years, the only one in dramatic form was a translation in English hexameters in 1591 of Tasso's *Aminta*, and it is not necessary to speak of them here.

Victoria is preserved in a single autograph manuscript at Penshurst,[1] which begins with some dedicatory verses to Sidney. In them he protests that if his comedy fails in comic effect, it is due to its having been written when he was sick in body and mind, but he gives no hint that the work was mainly a translation. As a matter of fact, *Il Fedele* itself has little of the genial spirit of true comedy, though its popularity is shown by its passing through four editions, and by its speedy

[1] It has been edited from the MS. by G. C. Moore Smith (1906) in Prof. Bang's *Materialien*.

adaptation both into Latin and English. The cynical immorality of the plot is not relieved by the sustained felicity of diction and construction, which is so potent an antiseptic to the more 'perilous' stuff of the *Decamerone*. The action is a bewildering maze of intrigue, and each character is more repellent than the other. But there are some theatrically effective episodes of a bizarre type, and the full-length portraiture of the pedant Onofrio was exactly suited to the taste of an academic audience. Moreover, the play lent itself to performance under the same conditions as *Hymenaeus*. As the direction prefixed to the prologue of *Victoria* informs us, four 'houses' were to be constructed on the stage, and a chapel containing a tomb.

For an appreciation of Fraunce's version a brief outline of the original is necessary. Fortunio, the lover of Vittoria, wife of Cornelio, bewails the return from Spain of her earlier lover Fedele. The latter's pedantic tutor is also annoyed, as he too has fallen in love with the lady. Vittoria is, however, faithful to Fortunio, and employs a witch, Medusa, to perform incantations to keep his love. Onofrio, hiding in the tomb in the chapel, is a witness of this scene, and informs Fedele. The latter soon afterwards sees a tender parting between Vittoria and Fortunio, and threatens the lady that he will inform her husband of her conduct. She thereupon determines to employ another lover, the braggart soldier Frangipetra, to murder Fedele, but he does nothing more than boast of his prowess. Meanwhile Fedele carries out his threat, but Cornelio will not be convinced of his wife's infidelity without ocular proof. Fedele therefore arranges for his servant Narcisso, who is making love to one of Vittoria's maids, Attilia, to be seen by Cornelio leaving her house in disguise, and crying out 'Vittoria'. Narcisso in turn persuades Onofrio to go to the house in beggar's dress, in the hope of getting access to Vittoria, but the pedant in mistake elopes with Attilia, who takes him for Narcisso, and who comes out to him with some of her mistress's clothes. They are arrested as thieves, and then discover each other's identity.

Meanwhile Cornelio has told Vittoria that he knows of her guilt, and is going to denounce her to the authorities. On

the advice of another of her maids, Beatrice, she summons Fedele, and pretends that she is dying of shame at her husband's accusation. His emotions are so stirred that his love for her reawakens, and when she revives, he agrees to persuade her husband to forgive her. This is easily done by telling Cornelio that it was Narcisso whom he had seen, and who had cried 'Vittoria' because of his success with Attilia. The eloping maid and Onofrio are set free at the request of Vittoria and Fedele. But Frangipetra has to pay the penalty of his vaingloriousness by being dragged in a net through the streets.

The underplot is concerned with Virginia, daughter of Ottaviano, who is in love with Fedele, and who employs Medusa as a go-between. The witch plays her false, by admitting to her by night Fortunio (who has been persuaded by Onofrio that Vittoria has turned against him) instead of Fedele. Virginia, after a violent outburst, accepts the situation on Fortunio agreeing to marry her.

In his version Fraunce retained all the original episodes, with one exception noted below, though he called Virginia by the new name of Barbara, and instead substituted Virginia for Beatrice as the name of one of Victoria's maids. But he made changes, both by omission and addition, which shifted the centre of interest, and rendered the work relatively more suitable for performance on a College stage. Pasqualigo had in several scenes introduced long disquisitions upon the character and habits of women, especially when they are in love. These are omitted or severely cut down by Fraunce. Some of them occur in scenes between Medusa and Beatrice, of which two (III. xii, and IV. i) are left out in the Latin version. The witch thus figures less prominently than in the original play, and this is still truer of Frangipetra, whose part is reduced to very small proportions. Fraunce even omits the striking scene (V. vi) in which the braggart is dragged through the street in a net. For this he has been blamed as lacking in humour,[1] but the reproach is unmerited. With true dramatic instinct he left out an episode which, however effective in itself,

[1] By Wolfgang Keller, to whom the discovery of the source of *Victoria* is partly due, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* III. ii. 178.

would have interfered with his main design. This was to subordinate the other comic figures to the pedant, who would appeal specially to a Cambridge audience.

In his delineation of Onophrius, however, Fraunce was at an initial disadvantage with Pasqualigo. The Italian dramatist could throw into relief the pedant's fatuous parade of learning by the simple device of interlarding his speeches in the prose vernacular with Latin tags. When the prose of the original was turned into the verse of Roman comedy in *Victoria*, other methods had to be found of giving the necessary artificial flavour to the schoolmaster's utterances. In the first place Fraunce added to the original tags, most of which he retained, additional familiar quotations from the Latin poets, in hexameters, or elegiacs. Thus in Act II. iv, Onophrius, rising from the tomb in which he has been hiding during Medusa's incantations, exclaims in a jumble of Virgilian and Horatian verse:

> Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerū
> Tendimus in Latiū.
> Sic ego transfugi, sic me seruauit Apollo.

In the scene added to the play by Fraunce, Act III. vii, in which Onophrius woos the young scholar Pegasus, who impersonates Victoria, the pedant's speeches and love-letter are strung together from lines or couplets of Catullus, Horace, Virgil, and Ovid, the *Heroides* being the main source.

Later, when he finds that Fidelis, owing to his information, is urging Cornelius to kill Victoria, he bewails the situation in Virgilian and Ovidian fragments (Act IV. viii):

> Quis iā locus, inquit, Achates
> Quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?
> Musa mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso
> Quidue dolens regina deûm, tot voluere casus
> Compulit Onophriū?
> Exul, inops, erro, dux foemina facti.

In addition, however, to these scraps of classical Latinity, Fraunce ingeniously puts into the mouth of the pedant a number of quotations from Latin works of mediaeval or Renaissance origin. Thus the lines just quoted are almost immediately followed by a passage put together mainly from

verses in the poem *De Contemtu mundi* (1494), and in the collection *Carminum proverbialium loci communes* (1494):[1]

Nil nisi terra sumus, et terra quid est nisi fumus?
Et nihil est fumus; nos nihil ergo sumus.

. . . . . .

In re terrena nihil est aliud nisi poena,
A re terrena studiosi mens aliena,
Pro re terrena diues versatur arena,
De re terrena non sit tibi gloria plena.
Si vero moriar, illud sepulchro inscribe meo:
Vates diuinus iacet hîc post fata supinus,
Hac sunt in fossa vatis venerabilis ossa,
Hac est in tumba rosa mundi non Rosamunda.

When Onophrius realizes in Act IV. x, that it is Attilia instead of her mistress who has fled with him in disguise he denounces the treachery of woman in a burlesque invocation, partly of Fraunce's own invention, partly taken from the *Carmina proverbialia*:

Per fluuios curuicursores, per Faunos capripedes,
Per vndas colocasiopatulas, per digitos crepericrepantes,
Per super deniq; supremũ Iouem,
Nulla fides eius, hodie mala cras quoq; peius.

. . . . . .

Foemina res picta, res ficta, res maledicta,
Vltio digna dei lumina tollat ei.

And when he and the maid are being led to prison, with the prospect of execution before them, he even chants a stanza from the hymn for the festival of St. Nicholas:

Nos qui sumus in hoc mundo
Vitiorũ in profundo,
Iam passi naufragia;
Gloriose Transmontane,
Ad salutis portum trahe
Vbi pax et gloria.

The leonine hexameters and other rhyming verses stand out as effectively from the rest of the dialogue in *Victoria* as the scraps of Latin from the Italian prose in *Il Fedele*. The development of the pedant's part on these ingenious lines

[1] On these and similar borrowings see the notes to Moore Smith's edition.

speaks well both for Fraunce's wide reading and his skill as an adapter.

Unfortunately he made a few similar interpolations in the speeches of other characters where, though entertaining in themselves, they are not dramatically appropriate. Thus, at the beginning of Act I. viii, Gallulus, the servant of Fortunius, sings to the accompaniment of a harp a set of verses made up chiefly of lines and phrases from Latin hymns, and with a punning reference to his instrument as the Aristotelian organon lays it aside before executing a dance. In II. vii. 929–81, another servant, Narcissus, pays court to Attilia in a burlesque jargon which borrows the phraseology of the Stoic doctrine:

Nar. Stoicus non sum . . .
Neque tu Stoicū, ni fallor, maritū cupies,
Imperitū, insensatū, agrestem, rusticū,
Qui nec amore moueatur, nec misericordia.
Att. Antiquū obtines, at Stoicā ego constantiā volo,
Non ἀπάθειαν Stoicorū, quoniā docuisti nos philosophari.

To which Narcissus replies in the technical terms of scholastic philosophy, which lend themselves to some suggestive double meanings. In IV. iii. 1799–1839, when Fortunius is plotting with Medusa to obtain access to Barbara, the identity of her name with the mnemonic term in formal logic gives occasion to some similarly unedifying technical pleasantries.

Where, however, Fraunce made the most unjustifiable departure from his original was in introducing an episode from the fifth novel of the second day in the *Decamerone*.[1] This tells how Andreuccio of Perugia, among other adventures in Naples, is induced by two thieves to help them to rifle the tomb of the Archbishop, is shut by them into the tomb because he keeps for himself a ring which is the most valuable part of the booty, and is set free through a priest attempting to enter the tomb and rushing off in a fright. Probably because a tomb was necessary in the scene where Onophrius watches Medusa's incantations, Fraunce thought it a convenient opportunity of availing himself of Boccaccio's tale. Hence in III. viii, he

[1] This novel had been translated into English by W. Painter in *The Pallace of Pleasure*, vol. i (1566), but Fraunce probably made use of the Italian text.

substitutes the Pedant for Andreuccio and Frangipetra for the priest, though the incident has not the remotest relation to Pasqualigo's plot or to his delineation of Onofrio. But it doubtless caused merriment on the stage, and it is, in any case, the only serious fault in Fraunce's remarkably skilful adaptation of *Il Fedele.*

The merits of *Victoria* become the more conspicuous when it is compared with the contemporary English version, *Two Italian Gentlemen*, registered for publication in November 1584. Whoever was responsible for this adaptation, whether Anthony Munday, or George Chapman, or some other playwright,[1] showed far less dexterity than Fraunce. With a disregard for the intricate mechanism of the original plot, he cut out a number of scenes and omitted seven of the characters. These are all servants, with the exception of Cornelio, the husband of the heroine, who here appears as unmarried. This condensation would not in itself have been a fault had the less comprehensive action been coherent and lucid, or had the chief characters been true to their original rôles. But this is far from being the case. Thus in the opening scenes of *Two Italian Gentlemen*, the exposition of the previous relations of Victoria with Fedele and Fortunio is so huddled that their motives are difficult to grasp. Afterwards, when Fedele realizes that Fortunio has ousted him in Victoria's affections, it is reasonable for him, as happens in the Italian play, to denounce her to her husband. But in the English version, as she has no husband, he has to revenge himself by the peculiar plan of getting his rival to believe that she is receiving visits from other lovers. In the original, the reconciliation between Fedele and Vittoria is brought about by the heroine's pretence that she is dying of shame at his accusations. In *Two Italian Gentlemen*, after he has humiliated her by showing her Crack-stone, her champion, in the net, he suddenly cries that, as her 'name is like for ever to be lost', he will not seek further revenge, and sends the Pedant to crave her pardon. Pasqualigo represents the

[1] See *Malone Society Collections*, i. 218-25. The play has been reprinted from the defective copy at Chatsworth by the Malone Society (1909).

marriage of Fortunio with Virginia as a reparation for the outrage that the girl has suffered; in the English version, though Fortunio has been baffled in his attempt on her honour, he declares that he loves her in his heart, and asks for her hand. Throughout, the adapter is evidently anxious to eliminate the immoral features of the original comedy, but it is at the sacrifice of its dramatic consistency and *vraisemblance*. Hence it was, probably, that he cut out so many of the intriguing, loose-tongued servants. But this had a remarkable result upon Pasqualigo's two chief comic characters. 'Pedante,' as Onofrio is simply styled in the English play, is degraded. Though he still acts in some scenes as Fedele's learned monitor, and quotes tags of Latin verse, he in effect plays the part of the servant Narcisso in the original comedy. Thus he is no longer the lover of Victoria but of her maid Attilia, and he takes Narcisso's place in the stratagem which convinces Fortunio that the heroine is unfaithful (Act IV. ii). On the other hand Crack-stone, who is made the chief figure by the English adapter, plays in the main the part of Onofrio, though he combines it with his original rôle of a braggart. It is he who hides in the tomb, and overhears Medusa's incantation, and afterwards 'riseth out of the Tombe with one candel in his mouth, and in eche hand one' (Act II. ii). It is he, too, who elopes with Attilia thinking she is Victoria, and is arrested by the Watch (Act V. iii).

These strange permutations and transformations account for the confusing impression made by *Two Italian Gentlemen* as a whole. Its merits lie in the racy flavour of much of the dialogue; in its incidental songs and music, varying from 'a pleasant Galliard' or 'Allemaigne', to 'a sollemne Dump'; and in the realistic vigour of some of its scenes. The episode of Crack-stone being paraded in a net (Act IV. vi), which Fraunce omitted, is worked up with coarsely humorous additions, and the atmosphere generally is changed from that of artificial comedy to farce. Fraunce, with truer instinct, realized that a successful adaptation of the play must preserve its spirit and structure, and his *Victoria* is without doubt a far abler version of *Il Fedele* than *Two Italian Gentlemen*.

In a University society, the step from the dramatic delineation of 'the pedant' as a type to the caricature of an individual Don is an easy one. It was taken at Trinity College, Cambridge, in the Latin comedy, *Pedantius*, which gave a burlesque portraiture of one of the leading figures of the contemporary academic world—Gabriel Harvey. The questions of the date, authorship, and source of the play all present difficulty.[1] It was first printed in 1631, with some introductory verses, of which two ran:

Ante quater denos vixi PEDANTIUS annos,
Vixi & Cantabrico *dixi* plaudente theatro.

This indicates a date about 1591, but a reference in that year by Sir John Harington, in a note to the 14th Book of his translation of the *Orlando Furioso*, proves that the production was earlier. Harington speaks of a 'pretie conceit' in 'our Cambridge Comedie *Pedantius* (at whiche I remember the noble Earle of Essex that now is, was present)'. This seems to imply that Harington and Essex had seen the play together while they were in residence at Cambridge previous to their taking the M.A. degree in 1581. And if Harington's words are taken in conjunction with Nash's allusions in *Have with you to Saffron-Walden*, quoted below, the inference is that the play was brought out between the winter of 1580 and July 1581.[2]

Besides the edition of 1631, *Pedantius* is preserved in the same Caius College MS. which contains *Richardus Tertius* and *Hymenaeus*. This version, which differs from the printed text, both by way of addition and omission, adds after the title '*comoedia acta in collegio Sanctae et individuae Trinitatis authore M^ro Forcet*'. This 'Forcet' is Edward Forsett, successively Scholar and Fellow of Trinity, who proceeded B.A. in 1571/2 and M.A. in 1575, and who remained at

[1] See G. C. Moore Smith's *Introduction* to his edition of the play in Bang's *Materialien* (1905), and a review by the present writer in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* I. iii. 253–8. Section vii of the *Introduction* identifies Pedantius with Gabriel Harvey.

[2] Moore Smith, *op. cit.*, x. As the Junior Bursar's Book of Trinity College, under the date 6 Feb. 1580/1, has the entry: 'Item layde out for the playes sexto Februarij . . . v^li xiiii^s viii^d ob.' Prof. Moore Smith has little doubt that this sum 'defrayed the production of *Pedantius*' on the date named.

Cambridge till 1581. He afterwards entered the public service, and was a member of the first parliament of James I. Amidst his official duties he found time to write *A comparative Discourse of the Bodies Natural and Politique* (1606), and *A defense of the right of Kings*, against Richard Parsons. There is, however, one great difficulty in accepting Forsett as author of the play. Nash, in *Strange Newes*, cries to Harvey, 'My muse never wept for want of maintenance, as thine did in *Musarum lachrimae* that was miserably flouted at in M. *Winkfields* Comoedie of *Pedantius* in Trinitie College'.[1] Nash here ascribes the play to Anthony Winkfield, or (as the name is usually spelt) Wingfield,[2] who proceeded B.A. in 1573/4 and M.A. in 1577, and who was successively Scholar, minor and major Fellow of Trinity. In March 1580/1 he defeated Gabriel Harvey in a contest for the office of Public Orator of the University. This contest was long and embittered, and Wingfield may well have bethought himself of turning academic feeling against his antagonist by a caricatured representation of him on the Trinity stage. In any case it is difficult to see how Nash, who matriculated as a sizar of St. John's in 1582, and who was intimately acquainted with the personal references in *Pedantius*, could have been mistaken about its authorship. His first-hand testimony must outweigh a MS. ascription of unknown origin and date.

Unlike *Hymenaeus* and *Victoria*, no source has been discovered for *Pedantius*, and it has a much less elaborate plot. Crobolus, formerly the servant of Chremulus, is wooing Lydia, the slave of Charondas. He has a rival in the pedagogue Pedantius, who has fallen a victim to her charms in spite of the arguments of his friend, the philosopher Dromodotus. Lydia, who cannot understand the pedagogue's high-flown rhetoric, favours Crobolus. But he is so short of cash that he cannot settle with his landlady, whom he bamboozles much as

[1] R. B. McKerrow, *Works of Thomas Nashe*, I. 303.

[2] Mr. McKerrow, *op. cit.*, IV. 182, writes: 'To me it seems difficult to be sure that "M. *Winkfields* Comoedie" means a comedy *written* by Winkfield, and not merely a comedy got up, or given by him—very likely in connexion with his (successful) candidature for the Public Oratorship.' But while a College bursar would enter a play to the person who had 'got up, or given' it (cf. *supra*, p. 82), a literary man in alluding to it would naturally speak of the author.

Falstaff does Mistress Quickly, and still less can he buy Lydia, for whom her master asks thirty *minae*. He therefore devises to get the money by trickery out of his rival. He sends a parasite, Tyrophagus, to Pedantius in court dress, with a message that the sovereign has been so favourably impressed by the attainments of his former pupil Leonidas, that he wants him to come to the capital and to undertake the education of his son. In the state of flattered expectation into which he is thrown by this news, Pedantius readily hands over twenty *minae*, which he is assured are urgently needed by Leonidas. He soon learns that he has been duped (IV. iii), but he is immediately afterwards still more cruelly victimized. Lydia pretends that she returns his love, but that she needs the thirty *minae* to buy her freedom. The pedagogue's ready cash is exhausted, but he offers to sell his library with his own marginal annotations. He takes to his heels, however, on the unexpected entrance of the tailor Gilbertus, whose unpaid bill has the first claim on any money he can raise (IV. v). He sends the necessary funds to Lydia by his pupil Bletus, who returns with the news (V. v) that she has bought her freedom, but that she is dangerously ill. In the next scene the landlady, accompanied by Crobolus disguised as a friar, makes a bogus announcement of the death of the girl to Pedantius, who declares that he will erect for her a sepulchre and marble statue, as Alexander did for his horse Bucephalus, and write a tragedy about her life and death, and entitle it LACHRYMAE MVSARUM. With a speech of farewell (2931–4):

'Vale mortua, *Longum* (adverbium) longum formosa vale Lydia, vale Venus, vale Amor, vosque (circumstantiae factorum illorum) locus & tempus valete: vale Dromodote, vale Franciscane. Vale vicina Academia';

he strides off, followed by Dromodotus, while Crobolus, before going indoors to prepare for his marriage, flings off his disguise with a mocking echo of Pedantius's farewell (2941–3):

'Vale *Franciscane*, salve *Crobole*: Vale Dromodote, salve tu ipse Ego mortalium fortunatissime. Vale Pedanti, salve rediviva Lydia.'

Whether this simple plot had a foreign source, and whether

Pedantius (as has been ingeniously argued[1]) was a sequel to another play of which the pedagogue's former pupil Leonidas was the hero, are interesting, but relatively unimportant questions in the history of academic drama. What gives the play its distinctive significance is that, among the types derived from Plautine comedy it introduced a contemporary figure burlesqued in the true Aristophanic vein. The new comedy and the old are thus combined into a novel dramatic species of which Cambridge seems to have had the monopoly.

Less daring in one respect than the Attic dramatist in the case of Socrates or Kleon, the author of *Pedantius* does not attack his victim by name. Nash, as has been seen, gives the key to his identity. The reference already quoted from *Strange Newes* is amplified in *Have with you to Saffron-Walden*:

'Ile fetch him aloft in *Pedantius*, that exquisite Comedie in Trinitie Colledge; where vnder the cheife part, from which it tooke his name, as namely the concise and firking finicaldo fine School-master, hee was full drawen & delineated from the soale of the foote to the crowne of his head. The iust manner of his phrase in his Orations and Disputations they stufft his mouth with & no Buffianisme throughout his whole bookes, but they bolsterd out his part with: as those ragged remnaunts in his foure familiar Epistles twixt him and *Senior Immerito*, *raptim scripta*, Nosti manum & stylum, with innumerable other of his rabble-routs: and scoffing his *Musarum Lachrymae* with *Flebo amorem meum*, *etiam Musarum lachrymis*: I leaue out halfe: not the carrying vp of his gowne, his nice gate on his pantoffles, or the affected accent of his speach, but they personated. And if I shuld reueale all, I thinke they borrowed his gowne to playe the Part in, the more to flout him.'[2]

If the play is read in the light of these and similar allusions by Nash, and of the known facts of Gabriel Harvey's career, the pamphleteer's assertion that he 'was full drawen and delineated', as seen through hostile eyes, is amply confirmed. Harvey's remarkable learning and literary talent were united with personal characteristics which invited ridicule. He aspired to shine in the great world, and to win the favour

[1] G. C. Moore Smith, *op. cit.*, xxvi–vii.
[2] R. B. McKerrow, *Works of Thomas Nashe* III. 80.

of the Queen and the Court. When Elizabeth visited Audley End near Saffron-Walden, in July 1578, he took part in the University disputation before her, and afterwards published four books of Latin Verses commemorating the occasion, called Χαῖρε *vel Gratulationes Valdinenses.* One of these had been presented to Leicester, into whose service he had entered, and who introduced him to the Court at London. Leicester seems for a time, in the autumn of 1580, to have employed him as his secretary, but to have found him unsuited for the post, and to have dismissed him.[1]

Harvey's ambitions for preferment at Court suggested the scenes in *Pedantius* where the pedagogue is duped into believing that the King has specially sent for him, with the result that he adopts an inflated style of speech: 'Dicito regi (amico meo) summo salutem meo nomine plurimam' (III. i), 'Ego suadebo semper salutaria reipublicae . . . Legatis respondebo facunde, nobiles tractabo comiter vt familiares'.

According to his enemies, Harvey sought to win his way in Court circles by playing the swain to the ladies in the Queen's train. Thus at Audley End he was 'at his pretic toyes and amorous glaunces and purposes with the Damsells', and 'he made an Oration before the Maids of Honour'.[2] To this there is a bantering reference in the Pedant's declaration 'foeminas autem aulicas ad lusum & risum provocabo: haec me ad altissimum dignitatis gradum perducent'.

To win the favour of the great and the fair Harvey had spent the utmost pains on his personal appearance and his dress. This is a point to which Nash returns again and again. To Audley End he 'came ruffling it out huffty tuffty, in his suite of velvet. There be them in Cambridge that had occasion to take note of it: for he stood noted, or scoared, for it in their bookes many a faire day after'.[3] And of a later period, His father he vndid to furnish him to the Court once more,' where he presented himself 'in all the colours of the raine-bow, and a paire of moustachies like a black horse tayle tyde up in a knot, with two tuffts sticking out on each side'.[4] Elsewhere, Nash pokes fun at his 'Pumps and Pantofles'.

[1] *Have with you,* in *op. cit.* III. 79.
[2] *Have with you,* III. 75.
[3] *Have with you,* III. 73.
[4] *Have with you,* III. 79.

Compare all this with the pronouncement of Pedantius in III. v, when he appears, in spite of the remonstrances of Dromodotus, in court-dress, attended by his pupil Ludio (1460–7):

'Tum non *Proteus* olim plures se in formas transtulit . . . quam ego vultū meū, & maxime quidem barbam, & potissimum superiorem eius hanc partē bicornem, quae barbare dicitur *Mustaches*. O barbariem, barba comptula & calamistrata indignam. Adde etiam, quod hunc habiturus sum puerum pedissequum, qui sandalia mea (*Pantofles* dicta ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντα φέρειν) mecum vndique circumferet.'

Harvey's chronic state of indebtedness, owing to his love of finery, gives rise to the amusing scenes (IV. v, and V. iii) in which Gilbertus the 'mercator pannarius', is introduced. But here the author's satire is a two-handed engine smiting impartially the University fop and the grasping townsman who hates the needy tribe of scholars (2254–72):

'*Gil.* Ex omnibus debitoribus nostris nulli sunt tam Periuri, quam Scholares isti . . . Namque ita laute vestiti incedunt, ac si essent generosi *Templarij*. Sed cum pretium est persolvendum, subducunt se callide. Si pultemus cubiculi fores, respondent, se non esse intus, curant se abesse peregre, aut imperiose denegant. Quis tu es? Quid mihi tecum? *Non sum, non possum, non libet esse domi.* Tum, ne a nobis conspiciantur, clam per posticum et angiportus quosque subrepunt quasi mures. Quod si forte inopinantes nobis in platea occurrerint, tanquam si lupum vidissent, ne unum proloqui verbum possunt.'

The last sentence is far from true of Pedantius, who when run to earth overwhelms his creditor with erudite speeches—another characteristic attributed to Harvey by Nash. Some of his retorts are worthy of the agile wit of Falstaff. Thus the tailor declares that he has sold goods to Pedantius at a merely nominal price: 'Pannus ille pro togis tuorum discipulorum certe profecto erat quasi donatus.' The pedagogue seizes on the last word to give a twist to the conversation: '*Donatus?* Fuit ille quidem celebris Grammaticus, sed postquam ego florui, sordet attritus & proiectus quasi pannus vetus & sordidus in sterquilinio.' When Gilbertus presses him to read the items in his account-book, 'Lege, quaeso, quod me & te attinet, per-

curre paginam totam,' he replies 'ego libentius in libris impressis quam Manuscriptis versari soleo, manu diurna nocturnaque'.

The tailor, however, is not the only unlearned person whom Pedantius addresses in high-flown language. Lydia is wooed in phrases borrowed from Cicero and the Latin poets, which are quite incomprehensible to her (II. iii. 985 ff.):

'Cogitanti mihi saepenumero, & memoria vetera repetenti, perbeati (Lydia virgo) videri solent, qui & amare & amari foeliciter unquam potuerunt, ita vt simul uno eodemque puncto temporis & amantes & amati *esse posse videantur*. Nam (vt Peripatetici perhibent) Amor omnis mutuus esse debet & reciprocus. . . . Nam quando primum illam tuam fascinantem faciem aspexi, statim mens mea nescio quo correpta, impulsa, abrepta, afflata furore amatorio abijt, excessit, evasit, erupit e perturbato hoc domicilio et ad oras oris tui appulit, vbi formam divinam, & certe veram *ideam Platonicam* contemplatur.'

This harangue on love to a maidservant in the jargon of the schools and of the forum tallies with Nash's account of how Harvey at Cambridge used 'euerie night after supper to walke on the market hill to shew himselfe', and if 'the wenches . . . giue him neuer so little an amorous regard, he presently boords them with a set speach of the first gathering together of societies and the distinction of *amor* and *amicitia* out of Tullies offices'.[1]

The author of *Pedantius* is, however, not content with putting into the mouth of his victim the tags and Ciceronian *clichés* dear to the humanist rhetorician. He sprinkles his speeches with phrases borrowed from Harvey's own publications. Thus in his *Rhetor* (1577) Harvey speaks of University men 'qui in disputationibus Dunsicum nescio quid et Dorbellicum fundere cogerentur'. Pedantius, when exasperated by Dromodotus, cries out 'tractas argumenta illotis manibus, scilicet sermone Duncico ac Dorbellico'. The *Gratulationes Valdinenses* had contained a poem *De vultu Itali*, upon the Queen's remark that Leicester need not send Harvey abroad, as with his swarthy complexion he had already 'vultus Itali'. In one of his *Three proper Letters* to Spenser, Harvey included a set of verses describing an Italianate Englishman entitled *Speculum Tuscanismi*. Both phrases are combined

[1] *Have with you*, in *op. cit.* III. 68.

in Pedantius's summing-up of his future deportment at Court: 'Denique ita graphice me geram, ut ipsissimum *Speculum Tuscanismi* se videre quisquam dicat in hoc *vultu Itali*' (III. v). The same letter to Spenser had a postscript ending '*Nosti manum & stylum.* G.', which the tailor quotes to Pedantius when confronting him with his signed receipt for goods delivered (V. iii). And another unmistakable allusion to a somewhat earlier work of Harvey occurs in the name of the elegy which Pedantius proposed to write upon Lydia, for Gabriel had dedicated a volume called *Smithus; vel Musarum Lachrymae* to the memory of a distinguished fellow townsman, Sir Thomas Smith.

It showed something of real genius for caricature to blend so successfully personal and general hints in the grotesque figure of the pedagogue, and the author dexterously heightened the effect by adding a foil in a contrasted academic type. Dromodotus, the satellite of Pedantius, is a devotee of Aristotelianism in its perverted scholastic form. All emotions and crises are to him merely material upon which to exercise his methods of ratiocination. When he learns that his friend is in love, he at once proceeds to lay down the heads for an analytical discussion of the passion (I. iii. 410–15):

'Primo, quoniam (vt habetur in *paruo Logicali*) inquirendum est quid sit res, antequam contra Amorem disputo, quaerendum est, Amor quid sit . . . Secundo, incommoda, postremo, remedia narranda sunt.'

And he develops the thesis through all its stages in the technical jargon of the schools.

He uses the same jargon in explaining to Lydia Pedantius's declaration that he wishes a union with her (II. iii. 1004–12):

'Generaliter sic; omnis homo (intellige autem non hunc aut illum, sed ipsam *speciem & universalitatem*) est animal sociabile & congregabile natura: hoc tene. Iam specialiter: unusquisque desiderans, optat ipsi desideratae omnem suam quasi *naturalitatem* & *id ipsum quid hominis* communicare. Nunc ad applicationem venio: Ergo hic amicus meus cupit vt sit inter vos non solum sociabilitas ista et confusa notio sed etiam proximior relatio quaedam ad-invicem.'

Even the report of Lydia's death finds him armed with dialectical commonplaces (v. vi. 2839–44):

'quicquid est in hac sublunari mundiali sphaera sicut habet *Esse in actu*, sic habet *non Esse in potentia*. Quapropter ego non magis miror istam a vita (quae est terminus a quo) ad mortem (quae est terminus ad quem) pervenisse, quam si quis vestrum ovum hic frangeret.'

Thus Dromodotus buries realities beneath masses of arid formulae, as Pedantius beneath artificial flowers of rhetoric. The scholasticism of the one, and the humanism of the other, have long had their day. But the formalist who lets his philosophy obscure the very facts of life of which it should be the interpretation, and the scholarly exquisite who aspires by graces of speech and deportment to conquer the two worlds of learning and of fashion, are permanent academic types. So long as they endure, this delightful Cambridge comedy, though probably written as a *pièce d'occasion* during the contest for the Public Oratorship between Wingfield and Harvey, can never become out of date.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE OXFORD STAGE 1566–1582

AT Oxford, as at Cambridge, the records of the University stage for a period of nearly fifteen years after Elizabeth's visit are very meagre. No extant plays can be assigned to this time, and the account-books of Christ Church and St. John's College, which would doubtless have furnished some details of theatrical entertainments, are unfortunately missing till 1577–8 and 1579–80 respectively. Yet a few notices of performances in several colleges may be gleaned from various sources.

The Merton College MS. register contains some interesting information about the acting of English and Latin plays during this period in the Warden's house or in the College hall. Thus on January 3, 1566/7:

'acta est Wylie Beguylie Comoedia Anglica nocte in aedibus Cust[odis] p̄ scolares, praesentibus Vic[ecustode] magistris Baccalaureis, cum ōnibus domesticis et nonnullis extraneis: merito laudandi recte agendo prae se tulerunt sūmam spem.'

The loss of this early comedy in the vernacular is very regrettable.[1] Its performance (as has been mentioned) [2] was followed in about a month, on the 7th of February, by that of the *Eunuchus* of Terence, which was also acted in the Warden's house before all the members of the College and some visitors. An English and a Latin play were again staged at Merton early in the following year, as the register records:

'Vicesimo p̄mo die Januarij, nocte in aula, acta est Mene-[c]hmus comoedia Plauti p̄ scholares: cum ante paucas dies ijdem egissent in aedibus Custodis, tragicomoediam Damonis et

[1] The extant *Wily Beguiled*, printed 1606, was probably a Cambridge play and is of much later date, as it contains imitations of *The Spanish Tragedie*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *Romeo and Juliet*.

[2] *supra*, p. 18.

Pythiae Anglicè, praesentibus Magistris, Baccalaureis, et alijs domesticis cum nōnullis extraneis.'

This academic revival of Edwardes's *Damon and Pythias*, almost certainly first performed at Court by the Children of the Chapel at Christmas 1564, suggests that the memory was still fresh of the success of his *Palamon and Arcyte* during the Queen's visit in the summer of 1566.[1]

Another episode from the legendary annals of Thebes was turned into a play early in 1569, though it is doubtful whether there was a performance of it. Odet de Coligny, Cardinal de Châtillon, was sent to England by Condé in August 1568, on a diplomatic mission. Arrangements were evidently made for him to visit Oxford in the company of the Earl of Leicester, for on May 5, 1569, Thomas Cooper, Dean of Christ Church, the Vice-Chancellor, wrote to Leicester about 'Your intended visit' on the 15th, and expressed the hope that 'you may be here at least two days, and that you and the Cardinal will lodge in Christ Church'. He also stated that among the 'exercises proposed', in addition to sermons and disputations, 'there is also ready a play or show of the *Destruction of Thebes*, and the contention between Eteocles and Polynices for the governance thereof. But we desire your help for some apparaiti and things needful.'[2]

Whether it was hoped that Leicester would contribute 'apparaiti' for the play from the properties of his own travelling company, or would use his good offices with the Master of the Revels, is uncertain. But apparently the proposed visit was abandoned. The Vice-Chancellor's accounts for 1568–9 include no sum spent in the entertainment of the Chancellor and the Cardinal.

In the Queen's College accounts for 1572–3 there appear the items of 3*s.* 8*d.* 'pro fabricatione scenae in aula ad tragicam comoediam narrandam' and 7*s.* 5*d.* 'in expensis tragicae comediae in natal. X^ti'. But it is surprising that

[1] There is no further entry in the register of a dramatic performance at Merton till January 21, 1583/4, when 'Portionistae' acted Plautus's *Captivi* in the house of the Warden, who gave them a reward of twenty shillings. Henceforward there is no evidence of the production of plays at Merton.

[2] *Report on Pepys MSS. preserved at Magdalene Coll. Cam.*, ii. 155–6 (Hist. MSS. Comm. 1911).

a very small place should be filled in Oxford dramatic annals by a College which still keeps alive the custom of bringing in the Boar's head at the Christmas dinner in hall, with the traditional ceremonial of Tudor times.[1]

At Magdalen, in the same year as the royal visit, but not in connexion with it, considerable sums were spent upon theatrical performances, as the following items from the accounts for the first term of 1566–7 show:

Solutū ouē et 2^{obus} laborātibus circa theatrū p̄ 5 dies . xiij^{s}
Solutū Squiar et famulo servātibus varia p̄ eodē opere p̄ 4^{or} dies . . . . . vj^{s}
Solutū Ouē et 3 fam. operantibus circa Theatrū p̄ 5 dies d. 3^{s} 1^{d} . . . . . xv^{s} v^{d}
Solutū M^{o} Brasbridge[2] p̄ expensis in Cōmoedia . . vij^{s}
Solutū pictori operāti circa edēdū per billā . 13^{li} 7^{s} 11^{d} ob.
Solutū pro varijs ad idē opus per billā . . xxviij^{s}
Solutū ouē et 2^{obus} famulis fabricātibus varia p̄ theatro per 4^{or} dies . . . . . 4^{s}[3]

The next entry relating to plays in the Magdalen accounts is in 1573, when a theatre was erected 'pro spectaculis' at a cost of 71 shillings. In 1574 plays were again acted in the College hall, and the following payments are recorded:

Noke fabricanti ostium pro spectaculis . . x^{s} ix^{d}

[1] The Provost of Queen's, Dr. J. R. Magrath, informs me that during many years' study of the College archives he has found nothing that bears on dramatic representations except the above entries, quoted in his chapter on Queen's, in *The Colleges of Oxford*, ed. A. Clark (1891), 145.

[2] Thomas Brasbridge (Bracebridge), Demy, 1553–8; Fellow of All Souls, and B.A., 1558; M.A., 1564; Fellow of Magdalen, 1561–57; afterwards vicar of Banbury.

[3] I have omitted several items, e. g. for labour 'circa fenestram', which occur in the same account, but which do not seem to refer to the stage. Mr. Macray says (*op. cit.* ii. 40): 'the reason for the large expenditure is found in the visit of the Queen to the College, the cost of whose entertainment at a banquet is noted in Bloxam's *Register*, ii, p. xxxiv.' Bloxam there quotes the item, 'Solut. pro epulis datis Reginae et conciliariis . . . vij^{li} x^{s} iiij^{d}'. This must refer to September 4, 1566, though Wood states that 'the Queen dined that day at Ch. Ch. but the Council at Magd. Coll.' (*Annals*, i. 160). In any case, no play at which the Queen was present can have been given at Magdalen, for Part II of *Palamon and Arcyte* was acted before her at Christ Church on September 4 (cf. *sup.*, p. 102), and all the other evenings of the visit are accounted for. Possibly a performance took place at Magdalen after dinner, before the Councillors, but it is not mentioned by any of the contemporary chroniclers. The entry in the accounts 'Pro epulis datis generosis diversis tempore spectaculorum . . . xvij^{s} iiij^{d}' suggests that the plays were given on the occasion of a much less elaborate banquet than that to the Privy Council.

Noke erigenti pinnacula Aulae spectaculorum tempore diruta . . . . . xvi^{d}

It would be interesting to know whether the damage to the pinnacles was due to the erection of the stage, or to the crowding and tumult which so frequently accompanied the performances.

A more important entry bearing on the expenses of the plays is that in the register under date April 5, 1580:

'Dominus Preses et reliqui 13 seniores simul consentientes decreverunt ut pro theatricorum expensis probationarii solvant 40^{s}, ceteri tam socii quam comminarii et semi-comminarii una cum reliqua multitudine pro personarum et graduum dignitate sumptui relicto complete satisfacient.'

As a rule, bursars' accounts at Magdalen and elsewhere give the impression that the expenses of plays were charged to the general College revenues, but from this entry it is evident that, on occasion, a rate was levied on the members proportionate to their academic status.

No particular performance after 1574 is recorded till 1582, when the disbursements include 'Musicis tempore spectaculi et pro vigilate 13^{s} 4^{d}'.

With this year, 1582, our information about plays at Oxford suddenly becomes more extensive than at any period since the royal visit of 1566. On New Year's day, Richard Madox, a Fellow of All Souls, who had been elected Proctor April 5, 1581, began a diary, still preserved in manuscript in the British Museum,[1] which contains some entries which need attention. The longest of these, though not concerned with a play, contains some interesting details about curious ceremonies which involved orations in verse and prose and some amount of impersonation and mummery. The leaf in which the entries occur has unfortunately a corner torn away, so that some words are lost:

'[January] 7. I dyned w^{t} M^{r} Marvin at Trinyty colleg wher w^{t} my broth^{r} & y^{e} 2 paulets & others we concluded a clubbing on y^{e} moroe. . . .

[1] *Cotton MSS.*, Appendix XLVII.

8. we went a clubbyng owt of al howses in y^e^ town some abowt 400. w^t^ drome bagpipe & other melody. at nyght w^e^ cam home w^t^ . . . torches and at unyversytie College latwar of St. John's welcomed us in verse w^t^ a s . . . oration in y^e^ name of King aulrede crown[ed] us w^t^ 2 fayr garlonds & offered y^e^ third but I answering his oration gave him y^[e]^ third & crowned hym poet lawrent.[1] So marched we up to Carfax when sr Abbots of bayly colledg had an oration in prose co . . . us for taking y^e^ savage who did ther . . . & yelded his holly club being w^t^ his . . . al in yvy. so went we to trynyty . . . and at y^e^ gate sr parsone receved me w^t^ an oration & my brother had an other of sr poticary. then at y^e^ entry m^r^ marvin had one by sr . . .[2]'

As a climax to these remarkable proceedings came a play at Trinity, for the diary proceeds:

'we supt at y^e^ presidents lodging and after had y^e^ supposes handeled in y^e^ haul indifferently.'

Probably 'y^e^ supposes' here mentioned is Gascoigne's prose version of Ariosto's *Suppositi*, acted at Gray's Inn in 1566, and revived, like *Damon and Pythias* at Merton in 1568, before an academic audience. In any case, the mention of the performance is specially interesting because, though comedies of Italian origin were frequently acted at Cambridge, this is the only one known to have been played at Oxford during Elizabeth's reign.

The first entry concerning plays in the extant St. John's College account-books is the payment on March 11, 1580/1 of twenty shillings to 'the Bachilers in consideration of an interlude'. But in the following year much heavier expenditure was incurred:

'Item the charges of one comedye & two tragedies played by the students of the Colledge 18°, 19°, 20° Feb. 1581 w^th^ the repayring of the ruines by reason thereof, over and above xxvi^li^, viii^s^, iiij^d^ borne by the students . . . xx^l^.'

[1] On poets laureate at Oxford see H. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ii. 459: 'Another peculiar institution which we find introduced into the University at the end of the fifteenth century is the practice of creating Poets Laureate by their actual investiture with a laurel crown.'

[2] The *lacuna* here is tantalizing. As a 'parsone', and a 'poticary' have been mentioned, one would like to know whether there were 'three P's'.

This outlay of over £46 upon three plays is exceptionally large, and whatever may have been the case at Magdalen in 1574, the 'ruines' here mentioned would appear to have been the result of a tumult after the performances. It is noteworthy that almost half the expenses were borne by the individual students, the College in its corporate capacity defraying the rest. In curious contrast is the small sum spent on February 10, 1582/3, when seven shillings was paid 'to y^e^ musitions & for links at w^ch^ time the students had a cõmodie & tragedie'. In the June of this year, and early in 1585, contributions were made by St. John's to the University's entertainment of 'y^e^ Palatine Alasco of Polonia', and of the Earl of Leicester respectively,[1] but no further item of expenditure on College acting is recorded till the spring term of 1586/7, when £3 6^s^ o^d^ was 'geven to the students towards their chardges of the shewe'. There is no entry for theatricals in 1587–8, and after this year the account-books are missing till 1598–9.

At Christ Church, as at St. John's, February 1581/2 was marked by theatrical performances on an extensive scale. During this year, under date February 15, the extant accounts have for the first time a separate marginal heading 'Comedies & trag[edies]', and the following entry:

> To m^r^ browne & m^r^ heton towrd the charges of setting forth one comedie & three tragedies . . . . vii^li^

Heton signs the receipt for the payment as 'Martin Heton',[2] and Browne (who does not sign) is evidently Edward Browne,[3] whose name appears in the College theatrical accounts for January 13, 1584/5. There can be little doubt that they were the two Censors of Christ Church, and that these officials had the chief responsibility for providing plays. In the accounts for 1607–8 the payment of £6 12*s.* 4*d.* towards 'ye defrayinge of the charge of a Comedy' is made 'to the Censors'.

[1] See *infra*, pp. 179 ff.

[2] Entered Christ Church from Westminster 1571; B.A. 1574; M.A. 1587; Canon of Christ Church, 1582; Vice-Chancellor, 1588–9; Dean of Winchester, 1589; Bishop of Ely, 1598–1609.

[3] Elected a Student of Christ Church 1575; B.A. 1577; M.A. 1580.

The two Censors had probably not only to arrange for the plays, but to superintend the erection of the stage in the College hall. The accounts for February 1581/2 contain some interesting entries, which are even more detailed than any in the Magdalen books, of the expenses incurred:

5 feb. to [William Pichaver] for worke doñe in the walkes about the stage by bill . . . . . ix^{s} viij^{d}
9 feb. to John Essex for w^{r}ke done at worton for the stage by bill . . . . . viij^{s}
eodem to william pichav^{r} for w^{r}ke done there for the same businesse as by bill . . . . . xv^{s} j^{d}
19 febr. to him w^{r}k*ing* about the stage as by bill lvj^{s} ij^{d}
eodem to horton for the same w^{r}ke. of sixe penie nayles 3000–xv^{s}. five penie nayles 1000–iiij^{s} ij^{d}. tenne penie nayles 1000–viij^{s} iiij^{d}. foure penie nayles 1000–iij^{s} iiij^{d}. three penie nayles 2000–v^{s}. bushel nayles 4000–v^{s} iiij^{d}. gret hookes 150–xviij^{d} & small hooks 500–xv^{d} . . . xliij^{s} xi^{d}
1 martij. to will^{m} pichav^{r} ending the stage w^{r}ke as by bill . . . . . xxxij^{s}
3 m^{r}tij. to the smith for w^{r}ke doñe about the stage, p billã . . . . . ix^{s} v^{d}

The total is £8 14*s.* 3*d.*, which has to be added to the £7 0*s.* 0*d.* paid directly to the Censors to give the full expenditure on the 'one comedie & three tragedies' produced.

Though the names of the plays are not contained in the account-books, we can fortunately identify two of the tragedies, one with considerable probability, and the other certainly. The Bodleian MS. Top. Oxon. e. 5, f. 359, contains a fragment, with the following heading:

'Epilogus Caesaris interfecti, quomodo in scenam prodijt ea res acta in ecclesia Xri Oxoñ, qui epilogus a M^{ro} Ricardo Eedes et scriptus et in proscenio ibidem dictus fuit.'

There is added in red ink, apparently by a later hand, the date 1582. This might be 1582/3, but there is no record in the Christ Church accounts of performances then, so that *Caesar Interfectus* was probably one of the February 1581/2 tragedies.

Its author, Richard Eedes[1], was born in 1555, and had entered

[1] The Epilogue alone is directly ascribed to Eedes in the fragmentary MS., but in view of the fact that playwrights as a rule, though not invariably, wrote the epilogues to their pieces, and that Eedes was known to

Christ Church from Westminster in 1571. He had graduated B.A. in December 1574 and M.A. in 1578. In 1583 he was elected Proctor, and in 1586 Prebendary of the Cathedral. After other ecclesiastical preferment he became Dean of Worcester in 1597. He died on 19 November, 1604.

His reputation as a dramatist penetrated beyond the University, for Francis Meres in 1598 includes 'Doctor Edes of Oxford' among 'our best for Tragedie'. Wood states that 'he spent his earlier years in poetical fancies and composing of plays, mostly tragedies'.[1] This is probably nothing more than embroidery of Meres' allusion. In any case, *Caesar Interfectus* is the only play by Eedes known to us by name. The Oxford dramatist was not the first Renaissance scholar to bring the great Roman upon the University stage. Mention has already been made of the *Julius Caesar* of Muretus, a lecturer at the College of Guienne in Bordeaux.[2] This play, written in 1544, and popularized in a French adaptation by Jacques Grévin, may possibly have been known to Eedes, but as *Caesar Interfectus* has been lost, save the Epilogue, the two Latin dramas cannot be compared. Yet the Epilogue alone gives a clue to the scope of the Christ Church play, and to the characterization, and deserves therefore to be transcribed in full:

'Egit triumphum Caesar de repub. Brutus de Caesare; nihil ille magis potuit, nihil iste magis voluit; nihil aut ille, aut iste minus debuit: Est quod vtriq; laudi tribuam; est quod vtriq; vitio vertam; malè Caesar qui occupauit Remp.; benè, qui sine caede & sanguine occupauit: rectè Brutus qui libertatem restituit; improbè, qui interfecto Caesare, restituendam censuit; illius facinoris turpitudini Victoriae moderatio quasi Velū obduxit; huius facti gloriae ingrata crudelitas tenebras offudit; ille se gessit optimè in causa pessima; hic pessimè in optima. Sed neq; defuerunt qui hos tam illr̄es viros, alterū regni, alterū libertatis studiosū, velut admotis facib. concitârunt. Antonius Caesari subiecit igniculos, Bruto Cassius: Caesari Antonius regiū diadema ita optauit ut offerret; Caesar ita recusauit vt cuperet. Quicquid voluit, valde voluit Brutus;

Francis Meres as a writer of tragedy, it may reasonably be inferred that he was the author of *Caesar Interfectus* itself.

[1] *Athenae*, ed. Bliss (1813), i. 749.

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 19.

nimiū Cassius: tanto certè ꝙdem Dux melior quanto Vir Brutus: in altero maior Vis, in altero Virtus: Brutū amicum habere malles; magis inimicū timeres Cassiū: odio habuit ille tyrannidem, hic tyrannū: Caesarē secuta est fortuna iusta, si tyrannidem spectemus; iniusta si hominem: sed neꝙ tyrannos Dij immortales licet optimos ferunt; et illi quasi in mercedem tantae Virtutis datū est, vt videret, non vt caueret interitū.'

It is evident that Caesar and Brutus, Antonius and Cassius, as drawn by Eedes, played much the same parts as they had done in Muretus's tragedy,[1] and as they were to play some twenty years later in Shakespeare's drama. But the subject-matter of the Epilogue is less remarkable than its style. Nothing is more improbable than that Shakespeare should have known *Caesar Interfectus*,[2] but this Epilogue, with its linked series of antitheses in artificially balanced and *staccato* prose, anticipates curiously the method and rhythm of Brutus's speech in the Forum in the English play. If the style of Eedes's tragedy was as distinctive as that of its Epilogue, its loss is very unfortunate.

Another of the tragedies performed in Christ Church at the same period has survived. It is *Meleager*, by William Gager, which was printed by Joseph Barnes at Oxford in 1592/3. On the title-page it is described as 'Bis Publice Acta In Aede Christi Oxoniae', and in the dedication to Robert, Earl of Essex, dated January 1, 1592 (i.e. 1592/3) the dramatist says: 'Annus iam penè vndecimus agitur . . . ex quo Meleager primùm, octauus ex quo iterum in Scenā vênit.' These words, in conjunction with the College accounts, fix the first performance of *Meleager* in February 1581/2. It was a memorable occasion in the annals of the Oxford stage, for its most representative Latin dramatist, and its ablest champion, now made his first venture before an audience in Christ Church hall.[3]

A full account of Gager's life and of his achievements

[1] On the plot of this play see M. W. MacCallum, *Shakespeare's Roman Plays and their Background* (1910), 20–7.

[2] On the reference in *Hamlet* to a University play on Julius Caesar, see *infra*, p. 277.

[3] This is clear from the statement in the dedication of the play: 'cùm primogenitus meus esset Meleager.'

outside the dramatic field cannot be given here, but it is necessary to mention some of the more important details. Born between 1555 and 1560, he was educated at Westminster, whence he passed with a scholarship to Christ Church in 1574. He proceeded B.A. in December 1577, and M.A. in June 1580. Among his College contemporaries was George Peele, to whom he addressed two sets of Latin elegiacs in praise of his English translation, no longer extant, of one of the Euripidean tragedies on Iphigenia.[1] But though he predicts immortality for English verse, he uses Latin almost exclusively, not only in his plays but in his occasional pieces, of which an autograph MS. collection has been preserved.[2] These include complimentary salutations to Christ Church colleagues and friends such as Tobie Matthew the Dean, Richard Eedes, Leonard Hutten, and Richard Hakluyt. Others deal with public events such as the execution of the Welshman, William Parry, for conspiracy against Elizabeth in March 1585, and the naval exploits of Francis Drake. He also contributed to academic miscellanies lamenting the death of Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Henry Unton, and the Queen. But his most remarkable occasional poem, still extant in MS., was written in 1608, under the quaint title *Pyramis*, to be a monument in verse commemorating the Gunpowder Plot.[3]

His mastery of racy and well-modulated English prose is proved by his *Letter to Dr. John Rainolds*, Fellow of Queen's College, written on July 31, 1592,[4] in reply to a letter of Rainolds on July 10 (afterwards included with others in *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes*) attacking some of his plays, and academic theatrical performances generally. The controversy in its wider aspects is discussed fully later,[5] but the letters incidentally throw valuable light upon Gager's work as a dramatist.

[1] Sir A. W. Ward states (*Eng. Dram. Lit.* i. 364) that Peele's version 'was performed in Christ Church hall'. This is in itself not improbable, but neither of Gager's poems, from which our only knowledge of the translation comes, makes any allusion to a performance.

[2] B.M. Addit. MSS. 22583. The poems to Peele are on ff. 48–9.

[3] British Museum Royal MSS. 12 A. LIX.

[4] Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MSS. 352, ff. 41–65.

[5] See Chapter X.

In May 1606 Gager, who had become a Doctor of Civil Law in 1589, left Oxford upon his appointment as Chancellor of the Diocese of Ely, of which his Christ Church contemporary, Martin Heton, was Bishop. He continued in office under Heton's successors, Lancelot Andrewes and Nicholas Felton, acting also from time to time as Vicar-General. He died at the end of August, 1621, and was buried on September 1, in All Saints Church, Cambridge.

Even this brief record of his career shows the diversity of Gager's interests and activities, and proves that his adoption of neo-Senecan dramatic methods was not due to mere pedantry, or to a belief that English 'would play the bankrupt with books'. He seems to have written plays only during a single decade, from 1582 to 1592, but during this period his pen was fertile, and its chief products were staged on occasions of state. Moreover, he was the first Oxford dramatist to have several of his plays printed under his own eye at the University Press, while another is extant at Christ Church in a manuscript which is not improbably the 'book' used at the actual performance. Hence the stage-directions in his tragedies are unusually detailed, and of exceptional authority on the arrangements of the academic theatre in the later sixteenth century.

He is fond too, like his Christ Church predecessor, Grimald, of elaborate dedications and prefaces in which he expounds his dramatic aims and methods. Thus, when he published *Meleager* he dedicated it to Robert, Earl of Essex, and also added an address 'ad lectorem Academicum'. In his letter to the Earl, Gager speaks of the tragedy slightingly, as an immature product, of which he hesitates to claim the paternity. But his address 'ad lectorem Academicum' proves that the play was the result of much study and thought. Not only does he know the versions of the story of Meleager given by Homer in the *Iliad* and by Ovid in *Metamorphoses*, Bk. VIII, but he refers to the classical tragedies on the subject by Antiphon, Euripides, and Accius, known through quotations by Aristotle, Aristophanes, and Nonius Marcellus respectively. He has been impressed by the differences of treatment displayed by the various writers who have handled the theme,

and claims equal liberty for himself in handling characters and episodes:

'Quò magis & mihi fas esse existimabam, Atalantam, quaecunque ea fuerit, a coniugio abhorrentem, Oeneum superbum, ac Deûm contemptorem, vitamq; sibi praecipitio finientem introducere, vt Tragoedię argumentum, maiore cùm varietate tum atrocitate pertexeretur.'

And though there is a suggestion here of the perverted doctrine that tragedy is impressive in proportion to the element of 'atrocitas' that enters into it, yet Gager shows in his next observation that he could distinguish between genuinely tragic effects and those that overstep the limits of dramatic art. He has omitted the episode of the conversion of Meleager's sisters into birds, lest the plot should tail off 'in catastrophen potiùs prodigiosam, quàm in exitum affectumque verè tragicum'.

While thus exercising his critical judgement, the young playwright almost inevitably drew upon Ovid for much of the vocabulary of his descriptive passage, and upon Seneca for his dramatic machinery. It is in accord with the Senecan convention that Megaera in the opening scene rises from the infernal realms to announce the destruction that is about to overwhelm the house of Oeneus, king of Aetolia, who has defied Diana. Senecan prototypes also suggested the figure of Philemon, the confidant of Meleager, who in the next scene draws from the hero the secret of his woebegone looks, when Calydon, the capital city, is feasting the famous warriors who have come to hunt the ravening boar, the engine of Diana's wrath. A yet fiercer, more unconquerable monster, has attacked Meleager:

> Ille, per agros, & laeta grassatur sata,
> Hic propriùs vrget; intús est, intús furit
> Indomitus, ardens . . .
> Atalanta, virgo est, illa me cruciat fera.

This skilful method of introducing the theme of Meleager's love for Atalanta, the virgin huntress from Arcadia, is Gager's own device. And in the next scene, where Atalanta, returning from the chase, finds Meleager and Philemon together, the dramatist shows original powers of characterization and

MELEAGER.

Tragœdia noua.

BIS PVBLICE ACTA IN
ÆDE CHRISTI
Oxoniæ.

OXONIÆ.
Excudebat IOSEPHVS BARNESIVS.
1592.

dialogue. The maiden chafes at the time wasted in festivities while the boar is devastating the land:

> Dapibus ac ludis datum
> Satis superq; est; ipsa quàm nimio fui
> Accepta cultu?

But her lover is agonized at the thought of her risking her life among beasts of prey:

> Insequere lepores potiùs, aut damas leues,
> Agilesue ceruos, aut grauem certè lupum,
> Cum maius aliquod facinus audere expetit
> Generosus ardor; improbas prudens fuge
> Natura quas armauit in caedem, feras.
> Non tangit illas, ista, quae nimiùm potens
> Homines, Deosq;, forma commoueat tua.

Philemon follows this entreaty with a lecture upon the suitable occupations of the two sexes and of youth and age. But Atalanta retorts with a panegyric on her life of woodland liberty, where 'Amor' is a god unknown, and 'sola virginitas Dea est'. And we feel that Gager, inspired for the moment by Catullus instead of Ovid and Seneca, is of the same age and temper as Spenser and Shakespeare, as he pens the dialogue that follows, in which Meleager and Atalanta glorify in turn the wedded and the single life. When the huntress compares virginity to an uncropped rose, blooming in a sequestered garden, her lover's answer anticipates famous lines in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*:[2]

> Certè rosam
> Beatiorem, quae manu languet, reor,
> Naresq; pascit interim, atq; oculos simul,
> Quám quae senescit frutice; namq; ibi mox quóq;
> Iucunda nulla sponte marcescet suâ.

From such imagery it is an easy step to verse which is not only lyrical in tone but virtually strophic in form:[2]

> *Ata.* Quae grauior illâ nocte nox caelo exeat,
> Castam puellam quae viro prodit truci,
> Gremioq; matris virginem teneram eripit,
> Trepidam puellam matris amplexu eripit?
> Quid peius hostes vrbe iam captâ patrant?
> Quod ab[1] hoste peius virgo patiatur nefas?

[1] Misprinted 'ad' in quarto.

[2] Cf. Catullus, lxii. 20–31.

Phi. Quae melior illâ nocte nox caelo exeat,
Quae miscet animas, & duas vnam facit,
Natamq; matris eripere gremio potest,
Trepidam puellam matris abducit sinu?
Horâ quid illâ laetius tribuant Dei?

Philemon concludes with a panegyric on the joys of motherhood, which so incenses Atalanta that (according to the stage-direction) 'Exit subirata in Regiam'.

The Regia or palace seems to have been at one side of the stage, facing the temple of Diana, for an interesting stage-direction at the beginning of Act II runs:

'Primò transeunt venatores, e Regiâ ad fanum Di[a]nae, omnes bini: in medio solus incedit Aruspex, cum omni apparatu sacrifico & victimâ ma[c]tandâ!'

While the sacrifice is taking place within the temple, King Oeneus is boasting outside its doors of his unexampled prosperity to an attendant 'Senex'—another figure of Senecan origin. Oeneus himself (as Gager indicates in his preface) is developed with a free hand from the slight hints given in the classical narrative. He is akin to Marlowe's Tamburlaine in his colossal arrogance and confidence in his superhuman destiny. Thus he cries in his opening words:

Par dijs superbis gradior, & caelo tenus,
Inter tyrannos, arduum caput effero.

Diana's attempt to take vengeance on him will, he is assured, recoil upon herself. He scorns the warnings of Senex, nor is he moved when his wife rushes forth, pallid and tear-stained, and relates a terrible dream. He gives a rationalist explanation of dreams, and when Senex urges that the dreams of the mighty are full of import, bursts out with bluff humour:

Aequus potenti, ac pauperi somnus venit,
Mendax vtriq;, forsitan Regi magis;
Quò dormientem maior exagitat metus.
. . . . . .
Ne spontè mulier non satis metuat, senex
Addat timorem.

As for the boar—he only wishes he could put old age to flight as easily as that scourge.

Even the return of the sacrificial procession from Diana's

temple, and the announcement that the omens are partly unfavourable for the boar-hunt, cannot daunt him. He dismisses the matter lightly, 'Inane quiddam est', and speaks words of good cheer to the departing huntsmen, whom he would himself lead on but for the infirmities of age. Althaea alone is vexed by ominous fears for the safety of her son and her brothers, Plexippus and Toxeus.

The account of the hunt, in which Atalanta is the first to wound the boar and Meleager gives it the death-stroke, is related by a Nuncius to the Chorus of Matres Calydonides in the opening scene of Act III. Here Gager does little more than paraphrase the narrative of Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, VIII. 329–424), though he omits some incidents such as the death ot Ancaeus, and magnifies the part played by Meleager:

> Sed inter omnes prima Meleagri fuit,
> Et summa virtus: obuiàm quoties apro
> Occurrit ardens! comminus quoties caput
> Offert periclo![1]

In the next scene the victors reappear bearing the head and skin of the boar, and singing a song of which each verse ends with the refrain:

> Tota deducat Calydon superbum
> Laeta triumphum.

Such a procession was merely the transference to the stage of a ceremony familiar in the ritual of Tudor college-life and still preserved, as already mentioned, at Queen's College on Christmas Day.

In the episodes that follow, where Meleager awards Atalanta the spoils of the chase, and murders his uncles when they protest against a woman being so honoured, Gager, though still indebted to Ovid, heightens the dramatic effect by a number of ingenious touches. When Toxeus asks mockingly,

> Horrenda setis terga, & ora haec dentibus
> Indis tremenda faeminae dextram decent?

Meleager retorts,

> Inuidia vos decuit, & iniustus furor?

[1] Ovid tells that when Meleager threw two javelins at the boar 'Hasta prior terra, medio stetit altera tergo'. Gager, who evidently thinks a 'miss' discreditable to his hero, has 'altera in tergo stetit, Hasta alia frontè'.

And when frenzied by his kinsmen's taunts he has committed the fell deed, he again offers Atalanta the spoils with the pregnant words:

Tu spolia recipe parta bis nostrâ manu.

With the entrance of Althaea Gager becomes entirely responsible for the effective working-up of the situation, which Ovid treats very summarily. The Queen's congratulatory outburst to the victors, before she notices their grief; her perplexity at the absence of her brothers (whose bodies have been covered from view); the reluctant revelation by Theseus that they lie slain, confirmed by the uncovering of the bodies; the frenzied appeals by Althaea to the silent heroes, one by one, to tell her how they came by their doom; the sudden cry of Meleager,

Me, me roga, adsum qui neci fratres dedi!

—these are the successive stages in a crisis which the Oxford playwright handles with a native instinct for dramatic development. Nor is there any faltering of his skill in the later part of the scene. Althaea's curses on her son, and his thrice-repeated cry, 'miserere', doubtless struck terror and pity into the Christ Church audience; and as they heard Atalanta and Theseus plead in vain with the infuriated Queen, and her shriek 'vlciscar tamen, vlciscar inquam', they had warning of the direr catastrophe yet to come.

In Act IV, when Althaea carries out her threat by burning the brand upon the preservation of which the life of her son depends, Gager is again much more closely dependent on Ovid, who treats this episode and the Queen's struggle between her feelings as mother and sister very fully. But it is Seneca, not Ovid, who supplies a Nutrix in whom the Queen confides, and who pleads with her to spare her son.

This Act, while less remarkable dramatically than its predecessors, is of special interest in the light it throws on the arrangements of the Christ Church stage. It has been shown above that there were two 'houses', apparently on opposite sides of the stage, the Palace and Diana's temple.[1] At the opening of this Act the Nutrix enters with burning coals, and

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 170.

according to the stage-direction, 'Accendit ligna in arâ, in remotiore Scenae parte extructâ'. This suggests an inner stage which could, when the action so required, be curtained off. Here takes place the dialogue between Althaea and the Nutrix, while the former is hesitating to throw the brand on the altar. And they evidently remain there after the fatal decision has been taken, and Meleager, accompanied by Philemon, appears on the front stage, racked by excruciating pangs. While he is lamenting that he should die a bloodless and inglorious death, Althaea 'stipitem extrahit', and he recovers for the moment. But 'rursus inijcit', and his pangs return, accompanied by a vision of Furies incited against him by Plexippus and Toxeus, whom he frantically pursues off the stage that he may send them a second time to hell. And then follows a remarkable stage-direction, 'Aliqua mora sit stipiti cremando vt in morte Meleagri decorū seruetur.' Even though the hero's death takes place behind the scenes, neo-Senecan decorum requires that it should not be unbecomingly hurried.

The Christ Church audience may, however, have been grateful for this concession to their sensibilities, for it made a pause before the culminating horrors of the last Act. Ovid had passed briefly over Oeneus's grief and Althaea's suicide:

> Puluere canitiem genitor vultusque seniles
> Foedat humi fusus spatiosumque increpat aeuum.
> Nam de matre manus diri sibi conscia facti
> Exegit poenas acto per viscera ferro.

But Gager, with melodramatic inventiveness, involves both King and Queen in the catastrophe of the royal house of Calydon. Oeneus, heart-stricken by his son's untimely fate, has to confess that he, like other men, is the sport of Fortune, though there is a trace of his old arrogance in his accusation of ingratitude against the gods. In vain Senex reminds him that he has still wife and children, home and country. All these are now nothing to him:

> Coniux, penates, liberi, regnum, omnia
> Per me ruant; causa illa, cur starent, iacet,
> Meleager vna; coniugem, natos, iuuat
> Patriam, penates, cuncta, congerere in rogum.

Fortune seems to have done her worst, but the climax is yet to come. Althaea rushes in, invoking vengeance on herself with frantic cries, and carrying the dagger with which Meleager had slain her brothers. As Oeneus questions her in amazement, she hands him a letter, the mute witness of her awful deed:

> Horreo profari: tu lege, agnosces manum.
> Ne fortè dubites, aut suâ careat fide,
> Scriptum cruore dextra signabit meo,
> Et hic sigilli pugio implebit vicem,
> Fratrum, sororis, matris occisor malae.

The last line foreshadows the manner of her own self-sought doom, which the Nutrix soon announces to the lamenting Chorus.

In making Althaea kill herself with her son's fatal dagger, Gager supplies a characteristically ingenious though melodramatic touch. He shows truer imagination in his portrayal of the fate of Oeneus after the revelation of Althaea's deed. The King now realizes the import of the supernatural warnings of which he had made mock:

> Hoc illud, vmbra quod socrus fleuit, nefas,
> Hoc dudum Aruspex horruit, metuit Senex.

But he will show no 'pietas' to deities who torture men. In striking imagery he depicts Diana arraigning him before the court of heaven:

> Statuitur medio aureum
> Caelo tribunal, sêdit in poenas meas
> Frequens Deorum curia, & causam petit.
> Diana coetum cogit, & questu graues
> Exacuit iras. Causa iam dicta est, nocens
> Poenae reseruor, quaeritur poenae modus.
> Sententia placet varia.

The punishments of Ixion, Sisyphus, Tantalus, and other of the damned are proposed for him in turn:

> Vrget Diana, singulas mites vocat,
> Deposcit omnes, sola saturari nequit.

Against such oppressors—and again he anticipates Tamburlaine—he will lead the Titans to a second struggle, and drag them from the sky. As he rushes forth with this frenzied threat upon his lips we are prepared for the tidings that follow. He

has climbed a lofty tower that overhangs the palace, and while lifting thence angry arms heavenwards, has dashed himself to death.

The detailed examination of *Meleager* shows that it deserved its highly favourable reception. Though it was Gager's maiden effort as a dramatist, he had shown remarkable skill in adapting the Ovidian story for the stage. He uses, as a matter of course, the Senecan machinery and technique, and he observes the unities strictly. But it is only a superficial view that would dismiss the play as merely imitative and unoriginal. Gager, as has been illustrated above, shows genuine inventiveness and dexterity in his management of the plot, fusing into an attractive whole episodes of his own devising with those of which Ovid is the direct source. The chief personages are individualized by numerous touches which lift them out of the category of types, and the figure of Oeneus is specially noteworthy as due almost entirely to the playwright, and as tempering the tragic atmosphere with an element of acid humour. The dialogue springs, in the main, naturally from the circumstances of the action, and sententious moralizing is for the most part restricted to the Choruses. Where the play is weakest is in poetic quality. The rhythm of the verse is lacking in melody, and even the lyrical passages are not fired by the glowing imagination which lends Grimald's *Archipropheta* its peculiar romantic charm.

It is assuredly the most convincing test of the merits of *Meleager* that, in spite of its poetic deficiencies, it will stand not entirely disadvantageous comparison with the consummate tragedy on the same theme which a later age owes to the genius and the scholarship of Swinburne. *Atalanta in Calydon* is, of course, no offspring of the Senecan or Ovidian muse. It is a unique reincarnation in English speech of the Greek tragic spirit. The pure marmoreal lustre of its blank verse, the music, equally majestic and ravishing, of its Choruses, have their birth in translunary spheres far beyond Gager's ken. And dominating the drama, giving it an organic unity and significance absent from *Meleager*, is the conception of the conflict between the over-ruling power of Fate and the insurgent will of Man. Yet when all this has

been taken into account, in characterization and in management of material the Elizabethan play may fairly challenge comparison with the Victorian. In both, the real protagonist is neither Meleager nor Atalanta, from whom they are named, but Althaea, consumed between the fires of a mother's and a sister's love:

> Made miserable above all miseries made,
> A grief among all women in the world,
> A name to be washed out with all men's tears.

In the Latin tragedy she is more of a woman, torn with conflicting passions; in the English she is rather an impersonal figure of retributive vengeance, beyond the measure of our reproaches or our tears. Yet it is for this 'bitter mother and mother-plague',

> 'The source and end, the sower and the scythe,'

that the Swinburnian Meleager cherishes his deepest emotion. His feeling for Atalanta is reverential awe for one

> Most fair and fearful, feminine, a god
> Faultless, whom I that love not, being unlike,
> Fear and give honour, and choose from all the gods.

This virginal devotion is far apart from the amorous ecstacy of Gager's hero, and is perhaps too etherealized to bear the full weight of the tragic burden that it has later to sustain. Yet it is notable that it is in the Victorian play alone that Atalanta is beside Meleager as his life ebbs away, and hears the last appeal from his lips:

> But thou, dear, hide my body with thy veil,
> And with thy raiment cover foot and head,
> And stretch thyself upon me and touch hands
> With hands and lips with lips: be pitiful
> As thou art maiden perfect.

Such a close would have been impossible to Gager, who, as he tells in his Epilogue 'ad Academicos', has had in his thoughts the English Atalanta:

> Arcadica cuî discedat Atalante loco,
> Quantum ipsa cedit Arcadia clarae Angliae.
> Quám dura semper nostra Meleagris fuit!
> Ah dura nimiúm, plusq; quám vellent sui.

The allusion to the Queen's treatment of her wooers, including Leicester, is unmistakable. But what is the reference in the following lines?

> Immanis etiam retulit exuuias apri,
> Maioris apri quám tuus, Calydon, fuit.
> Cruore setas illa rubefecit leui;
> At nostra totam belluam strauit solo,
> Spoliumq; victrix abstulit, sine sanguine.

If, as appears to be the case,[1] they were written for the first performance of the play, the 'bellua' is probably the Jesuit conspiracy, headed by Campion and Parsons, against Elizabeth in 1581.

But the irony of fortune was to give the ancient story a personal application to Gager himself, totally unforeseen when he wrote the tragedy. In the winter of 1590 his uncle Edward Cordell died, and at the instigation, as it was believed, of his young wife passed over Gager and other blood-relations in his will. The dramatist has recorded his indignation in verses headed:

'In obitū Auunculi mei Eduardi Cordeli a quo, vxore suâ Dominâ Digbye biennio ante ductâ, et solâ haerede institutâ, tot promissis suis, iureq; adeo Ciuili & Naturali violatis, testamento praeteritus sū Decembris 1590.'[2]

How bitterly he felt the blow is clear from the opening lines:

> O fortuna meis semper contraria votis!
> O mors! O peius faemina morte malū!

In the light of these and the subsequent verses we can understand what would otherwise be an enigmatic prefatory poem by 'I. C.'[3] printed in the 1592/3 edition of *Meleager*. It declares that tragedy is dear to Gager because he has suffered tragic fortunes, and that like Meleager, akin to him

[1] The prologue and epilogue 'ad Academicos' seem to have been written in 1582; those addressed to the Earls of Pembroke and Leicester were added when the play was revived in January 1584/5 (cf. *infra*, pp. 192–3). In the second prologue Gager adds at the end two lines addressed to those who had heard the play three years ago—a proof that the prologue 'ad Academicos' (and doubtless the similar epilogue) was not written for the revival.

[2] B. M. Addit. MSS. 22,583, f. 85.

[3] Probably John Case, a Fellow of St. John's, formerly a chorister of Christ Church, to whom Gager addresses a poem in his MS. collection, f. 84.

in name, he has been fatally wronged by a woman who was a near relation.

Non tibi nequicquā, Gagere, Tragoedia cordi est
Cui cor fortunae tot pupigere mala.
Res sit digna viro licet ipsa Tragoedia docto,
Illa tamen curâ te propiore tenet.
. . . . . .
Nomine quám propé te Meleager, & omine tangit!
Quám propé nomen habes, tā propé & omē habes.
Praua suorum illi, nocuit tibi praua tuorum
Inuidia, & spreti sanguinis improbitas.
Tu magis, immeritò, & iuuenes perijstis vterq;
Vtriq; exitium faemina dira tulit.
Expulit illi animam mater, tibi quám propé mater
Viuendi causas abstulit, atq; animam?
Occultis perit ille odiis, tu clam perijsti;
Ille veneficiis, carminibusq; iacet;
Tuq; veneficio muliebri, fraude, doloq;,
Artibus, insidijs, malitiâq; iaces.
Vita etenim non est sine rebus viuere vitae,
Illi vita perit, cui perimuntur opes.
Salua tamen res est, forsan viuetis vterq;,
Carmine non magico, carmine sed tragico.

It is surprising that Gager should have allowed a friend thus to advertise abroad his private misfortunes; nor in spite of 'I. C.'s' consoling prophecy was the tragedy destined to confer on its author an immortality which would atone for his defeated hopes of a legacy in this world. But its performance seems to have given him at once the leading position among the Christ Church dramatists, and in the history of the Oxford stage between 1582 and 1592 he stands predominant.

CHAPTER IX

WILLIAM GAGER'S LATER CHRIST CHURCH PLAYS.

IT was doubtless the reputation that Gager had won by *Meleager* that led to his being chosen in the following year to furnish the plays for the entertainment of a distinguished foreign visitor. In April 1583 Albertus Alasco, Prince Palatine of Siradia in Poland, arrived in London on a visit to the English Queen and Court. During his stay he remained chiefly at Winchester House in Southwark, but he made expeditions to various places of interest. On May 13, Leicester, as Chancellor of the University, wrote to the Vice-Chancellor as follows:

'The Queen's Ma^tie hath willed me to signifie unto you y^t y^e Palatin Lasky y^e nobleman that is nowe out of Polonia mindeth shortly to come downe to see y^e universitie of Oxford, & that her highnes pleasure therefore is y^t he be receaved of you w^th all y^e curtesy & solemnitie y^t you maye. I minde myselfe to accompanie him thither: y^e time we appoint to be there shalbe on mundaye y^e x^th daye of June, & there to remaine that daye all tuesdaye & all wednesdaye & on Thursdaye morninge to depart. You must use all solemnitie of disputation, orations, & readinges as you did at her ma^ties beinge w^th you'.[1]

A postscript added, 'I doo thinke it fittest for him to lie in Christ Church.'

The Chancellor's letter was read in Convocation on May 17, and delegates were appointed to make the necessary arrangements. They settled that the University should bear half the cost of the Palatine's entertainment, and that the Colleges should contribute in a fixed proportion.[2] Two 'theatra' were

[1] Twyne MSS. xvii. f. 170.

[2] A bill of accounts contained in some sheets appended to the roll of the Vice-Chancellor's accounts for 1582-3, preserved in the University

to be set up: one in St. Mary's for disputations, and the other in Christ Church 'pro ludis theatricis'. Any one, except a foreigner, who went on the 'theatra' without authorization was to be imprisoned for a month and pay a fine of 40 shillings. With regard to the plays it was further decreed:

'Vt ludi Theatrici constituerent[r] in Aula Ecclesiae Xri p discretionem Decani, Thesaurarij, vel vnius eorum, & Bursarij simul cum consensu vice canc[i], D[ris] Humfrey, D[rs] Dalober, M[ri] Wyllis, M[ri] Eedes procuratoris, vel consensu duorū supra nominatorum tam de argumento quam de Actorib, et expensis eorundem.'

The delegates must have proceeded to commission Gager to write the plays for the Palatine's entertainment, and must at the same time have invited George Peele, whose *Arraignment of Paris* had probably not long before been performed by the Children of the Chapel, to superintend the theatrical arrangements. The bill of accounts includes the formidable item of £86 18*s.* 2*d.* for 'the chardges of a Comedye and a Tragedye and a shewe of fireworks as appeareth by the particular bille of Mr. Vice Chauncelor, Mr. Howsone, Mr. Maxie, and Mr. Pille'.[2]

According to Holinshed, the actors chosen were mostly from Christ Church; six or seven were from St. John's and three or four from other Colleges and Halls. The same chronicler thus describes the reception of the Palatine on June 10, after he had been greeted outside the city by Doctor Westfaling, Vice-Chancellor in 1576–7, and by the Mayor and Town Clerk.

Archives, gives the total disbursements on the entertainment of the Palatine 'and such as came to the Universitye with him, as also for the playes, giusts and all other chardges' as £331 5*s.* 6*d.*, of which '£165 16[?12]*s.* 9*d.* is to be allowed out of the vniversitie coffers accordinge to the agreement of the delegates'. The total does not correspond with the details, which amount to £339 5*s.* 6*d.* This document was printed by A. L[ane] P[oole] in *The Oxford Magazine*, Nov. 16, 1911.

[1] Twyne, *loc. cit.*, f. 171.

[2] This item was communicated by Bliss, the Keeper of the Archives, to Dyce, who printed it in vol. iii of his *Works of George Peele* (1839), vii. Bliss also gave to Dyce another item, 'To M[r] Peele for provision for the playes at Christ church . . . xviii*d.*' This is not in the bill of accounts, but is doubtless genuine.

'On the east gate, wherat he entered stood a consort of musicians, who for a long space made verie sweete harmonie, which could not but mooue & delight . . . All up the high street unto saint Maries church, on either side the waie, were decentlie marshalled scholers in their gownes & caps, batchelors and maisters in their habits and hoods. At saint Maries the orator of the vniversitie (notable in his facultie) presented him a booke,[1] in which were closelie couched verie rich and gorgeous gloves. From thense he marched to Christs church, where he was whilest he abode in the universitie most honourablie interteined. And the first night being vacant, as in which he sought rather rest in his lodging than recreation in anie academicall pastimes, strange fire works were shewed, in the great quadrangle, besides rockets and a number of such maner of deuises.'[2]

On the second day, after he had dined at All Souls, heard disputations in St. Mary's Church and supped at Christ Church, Alasco saw the first of the plays provided in his honour, Gager's Latin comedy, *Riuales*. Holinshed calls it a 'pleasant' comedy. Wood echoes the epithet and adds, without however giving any authority for the statement, 'which giving them great content, the Author, Dr Will. Gager had the honour to receive from the Prince personal thanks'.[3] More convincing testimony to its merits is the fact that it was twice successfully revived, in February 1592/3 and in the following September (on the latter occasion before the Queen), and that mainly, if not wholely, on account of it Meres included Gager in 1598 among his list of 'the best for Comedy amongst us'. The pungency and epigrammatic force of some of his Latin poems, and his genial wit and incisiveness as a prose controversialist, united to the faculty of plot-construction shown in his tragedies, must have gone far to equip him as a writer of comedy. But we have to take his reputation in this respect on trust. *Riuales* was never printed,[4] and no manuscript of it is known. We can only glean hints of some of its characters and episodes from the references to it in the controversy between Rainolds and Gager, and from one or two other allusions by its author.

[1] Described in the bill of accounts as 'A Bible bounde in velvet and gilted', which cost £2 16*s.* 4*d.*
[2] *Chronicle*, iii. 1355 (1587).
[3] *Annals*, ii. 216.
[4] Rainolds calls it 'the vnprinted Comedie', *op. cit.*, 122.

Thus one of its features was 'the fonde behaviour of cuntrye wooinge',[1] and as Gager in the prologue to *Dido,* acted on the next night, says—

Hesterna Mopsum scena ridiculum dedit,

it may be inferred that the name of the foolish swain was Mopsus, borrowed from the *Eclogues* of Virgil. The introduction by Gager into his comedy of a burlesque of rustic love-making is remarkable, for though in *Gammer Gurtons Nedle* and in *Misogonus* country personages and scenes appear, there is no extant play, English or Latin, written in this country before 1583 which brings amorous yokels on the stage. That the wooers in *Riuales* were such, and not conventional pastoral figures, is made additionally plain by the way in which he emphasizes the piquancy of their representation by members of a cultured society, or 'cyvill men'.[2]

Another group of personages in *Riuales*, not usually found in a play of this date, were drunken sailors, known to us through the invective of Rainolds, who repeatedly declaims against their 'vnseemely barbarous carousing songes and speeches', 'the drunken songs . . . the drunken speeches . . . the drunken gestures of those drunken beastes'.[3] Gager's mariners would evidently have been fit shipmates for Stephano and Trinculo, who would have been equally opprobrious to the Puritan divine.

In addition, there were customary types from classical and humanist comedy, a vain and bragging soldier, and a 'blanda lena'. With such *dramatis personae* it is natural that Gager's rancorous critic should have seen 'such filth in *Riuales* (I am ashamed to reherse it) as can not be matched, I thinke, sure very hardly throughout all Plautus'.[4] Though the judgement was doubtless uncharitably harsh, the moral standard of the play was probably as lax as that of many Renaissance comedies. But from all other points of view Rainolds's attacks upon it

[1] Gager, *Letter to Rainolds*, f. 57.
[2] Gager, *op. cit.*, f. 57.
[3] Rainolds, *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes*, 115 and 122.
[4] Rainolds, *op. cit.*, 122.

only go to prove that by its disappearance we have lost a unique product of the University stage.

Gager's *Dido*, produced on the following evening, is preserved at Christ Church, in a unique MS., which, from its beautiful penmanship and ornamental appearance, may well have been the 'book of the play' prepared for the use of Alasco or the Chancellor.[1] The subject was of course chosen because of its peculiar fitness to the visit of a foreign prince who was the guest of a modern queen Elisa. In the Epilogue, Alasco is addressed in the words used by Dido of Aeneas:

> Quis iste nuper sedibus nostris novus
> Successit hospes? ore quem sese ferens!
> Quam fortis alto pectore armisq; inclytus!
> Genus esse diuûm credo, nec vana est fides.

The play, which appears to have occupied about two hours in representation[2] was elaborately staged, with 'strange, marvellous, and abundant' scenic effects (of which more will be said below), but it is the least notable of Gager's extant works. It makes the impression of having been 'sharked up' hastily for the occasion, and Gager must bear the discredit, if he is the sole author, of perverting, with the minimum of purely verbal change, the gold of the Virgilian hexameters into the base metal of his neo-classical iambics. Nevertheless, in the selection and arrangement of the material from the first and fourth books of the *Aeneid*, and in the incidental additions made to it, *Dido* shows the practised hand of its author.

It opens with a dialogue between Venus and Cupido,

[1] The complete play in the Christ Church MS. is here dealt with for the first time, but Acts II and III, with the Prologue, Argument, and Epilogue, are contained in Gager's autograph MS. volume in the Museum, ff. 34^{v}–44. They were printed from this by Dyce as an appendix to vol. iii of his edition of Marlowe (1850). It is remarkable that only two Acts are included in the Museum volume. It will be seen that they handle the epic material more freely than the other Acts, which may possibly be from a different hand.

The selections from *Dido* are preceded in the Museum MS., ff. 31–34^{r}, by five short scenes, apparently from a tragedy on Oedipus.

[2] Cf. the opening lines of the Argumentum:

> Huic Dido clarum fabulae nomen facit.
> Hic ipsa ad horas regna moderatur duas.

expanded from *Aeneid* i. 664–90, in which the goddess unwittingly sows the seeds of the tragedy by bidding her son personate Ascanius that he may inflame Dido's heart with love of Aeneas.[1] This dialogue takes place within view of the Carthaginian palace, for Cupido closes it with the exclamation, 'regiâ en Dido exijt.' The Queen, in the short second scene, which is of Gager's own invention, is discussing with two of her advisers, Hanno and Maharbal, the best means of preserving the stability of the newly founded city, and hears of a possible danger in the sudden arrival of strangers from overseas. In the next two scenes, which reproduce almost word for word *Aeneid* i. 520–630, the Trojans and their leader appear and are welcomed by Dido.

In the banqueting scene with which Act II opens,[1] Gager departs for the time from his Virgilian source, and gets ingeniously over the difficulty of introducing into a play Aeneas's narrative of the fall of Troy. The scene begins with an interchange of compliments between the Queen and her guest:

Dido. Magnanime Princeps, si foret suasum tibi
Quàm gratus aulam veneris nostram aduena,
Nec non Iulus pariter, & comites viae,
Non dico Troia penitus excideret tibi
Sedesq́ patriae, laetior certé fores.
Aen. Regina gentis candidum sydus tuae,
Non lingua nostri pectoris sensum explicet,
Non vultus animum. laetitia gestit leuis,
Ingens stupescit, seq́ non capiens silet.

But the pseudo-Ascanius looks sorrowful, and Dido asks anxiously,

Sed cur Iulus tristior spectat dapes?

His answer shows that the scene is laid, not on the night of Aeneas's arrival and recital of his flight from Troy, but on the following night, and that the model of a town in confectionery

[1] Special wine had been brought from London for use in this scene, and the drinking scenes in *Riuales*. One of the items in the bill of accounts was £5 5*s.* 0*d.* 'for the carriadge of wine that appeareth for the playes and all other carriadges from London to Oxon'.

on the banqueting-board recalls to him (as he feigns) the catastrophe on which his father had discoursed in full:

> Vrbs ista Troiae praebuit speciẽm mihi,
> Animumq; misero subijt aspectu dolor,
> Quae nocte genitor retulit hesternâ alti[9]
> Hîc breuiter oculis subijci videas tuis.
> . . . . . .
> Hanc esse Troiam finge quam paterâ vides.
> Hác Simois ibat fluuius, hîc densis sita est
> Mons Ida siluis, hâc stetit Tenedos viâ.

And so in fourteen further lines scenes and incidents from the last days of Troy are illustrated from the sweetmeat. It is evidently to this that Holinshed makes inaccurate reference when he states that 'the queenes banket (with Eneas narration of the destruction of Troie) was livelie described in a marchpaine patterne'. The 'marchpaine pattern' was one of the dishes at the 'banket', and though it is used to illustrate 'Eneas narration' in Book II of the *Aeneid*, it is not the Trojan leader but the false Ascanius who lets his fancy play round it in this way. The feasting is accompanied by a 'hymnus' of the minstrel Iopas, who does not (as in *Aen.* i. 742–6) sing of natural phenomena, but chants the praises of the Trojan guest and of his royal hostess in words ingeniously designed to apply also to the Polish visitors and the English queen:

> Splendor heroûm patriaeq; lumen
> Inclitum, salue, generisq; prisci:
> Non tuâ nostras tetigit carina
> Gratior oras.
> Sis licet tant[9] superesq; nostri
> Pectoris captum, tamen est Elisa
> Maior, o hospes nimium beate
> Hospite Elisâ.
> Est minor nemo nisi comparat[9]:
> Neue te dici pudeat minorem,
> Nil videt nostrae simile aut secũdũ
> Orbis Elisae.

Dido then inquires about the 'fata secreta Illij', and, without much relevance to the situation, Aeneas describes how the loss of the image of Pallas and the bow and arrows of Hercules was fatal to the city. The banquet then closes with a 'pompa

larualis' or masque, of which unfortunately no details are given, and while the feast is being removed, the company proceeds to walk in 'regijs hortis'.[1]

Dido's hospitality to her guest makes Maharbal afraid that she will reject her other suitors for him and thus plunge Africa into war. But Hanno favours the match on the ground (probably suggested by Elizabeth's own situation) that a mighty queen, of full age, should be allowed to make her own choice. There seems promise of these rival views affecting the development of the story, but henceforward the two counsellors drop out of the play. As in the epic, Anna is her sister's sole confidant, and in the final scene of this Act, taken with slight rearrangement from *Aeneid* iii. 9–53, she urges the Queen to keep the Trojan visitor on one pretext or another by her side.

Act III is opened with the stage-direction 'Transeunt ad venationem', and it is clear from Holinshed's account that, as in the case of Edwardes's *Palamon and Arcyte* in 1566, full appeal was made to the sporting instincts of the audience. There was 'a goodlie sight of hunters with full crie of a kennell of hounds'.[2] It must have been an abrupt change from this cheerful spectacle to the Ghost of Sychaeus, who is introduced in Senecan fashion to foretell disaster to his former spouse if she marries one of the perfidious race of Troy. But his warnings are in vain, for the fateful tempest is at hand which joins the lovers in sudden and secret union. The

[1] The closing lines of the scene are intended to give an opportunity for clearing away the paraphernalia connected with the banquet, before the appearance of Maharbal and Hanno:

Ascan. Regina, tandem quaeso tollant^r dapes.
Satis epularum, luxui satis est datum.
In ambulando membra releuem^9 precor.
Dido. Mos tibi geret^r. tollite ministri ocyús.
Interea laeto personet cantu domus.
Nos inferamus regijs hortis gradum.

Thus music diverted the attention of the audience while the stage was being cleared. A traverse may also have been drawn to hide the process, if the banquet had taken place on an inner stage. That the stage was a very large one may be inferred from the fact that £3 8*s.* 2*d.* is entered in the Christ Church accounts for July 19, 1583, as paid for 'nayles remayning after the pulling down of the stage.' The different kinds of nails and their prices are set down in detail.

[2] Apparently, however, the hounds were on the stage, not, as during the performance of *Palamon and Arcyte*, in the quadrangle.

single-word stage-direction 'Tempestas' indicates that the storm was represented before the audience, and Holinshed adds the interesting details that 'it hailed small confects, rained rosewater, and snew an artificiall kind of snow'. Scarcely the most appropriate materials for the occasion, and out of harmony with the lamentations of the 'Nymphae plangentes' who bewail in mournful chorus 'hymenaeos, heu male iunctos'. Cupido, his work achieved, now reappears in his true shape, and in a speech of Gager's invention exults over his triumph and points out the cave where the union is taking place.

With the appearance of Jove's messenger Mercurius, descending from an high place, as Holinshed records, the catastrophe begins. In a speech compounded out of *Aeneid* iv. 227–34 and 265–76 he reminds the Trojan leader of his forgotten mission to found a kingdom in Italy, and ends with the imperious direction:

> Legationis summa nostrae est, Nauiga.

The dialogue that follows between Aeneas and Achates is added by Gager, and the Senecan στιχομυθία and argumentative antitheses fit incongruously into the semi-epic framework of the piece. In the Senecan vein of rhetoric, too, is Aeneas's cry in his agonizing uncertainty:

> Restitue fluctus Iuno iam Lybicos mihi.
> Leuior in illis ira praelusit tua.
> Quicunq; saeuo maria transitis Deo
> Amate fluctus, credite experto mihi.

Achates advises him to obey the behest of Jove, and adds sententiously:

Ach. Minus eligendum est cum duo occurrunt mala.
Aen. Sic est Achates: at quis hic Iudex erit?
Ach. Ioue imperante te tamen iudex latet?
Aen. At hospitalis Iupiter prohibet fugam.
Ach. Iter institutum cur fugam turpem vocas?
Aen. Sic praedicabit fama. *Ach.* sed falsa et leuis.
Aen. Tamen est timenda leuior. *Ach.* at superi magis.
Aen. At chara Dido est. *Ach.* veniat in mentem tibi Ascanius. *Aen.* Etiam magna Carthago venit.
Ach. Núm terra fatis debita Italia est minor?

At last Achates prevails on him to be obdurate to the Queen's entreaties, and to make preparations for flight.

It will be seen that in Acts II and III Gager had given his invention comparatively free play, especially with a view to spectacular effect, but in the latter part of the drama he keeps, in the main, close to his Virgilian source. Thus the principal scene of Act IV consists of Dido's reproaches and Aeneas's plea of divine compulsion, taken almost verbatim from Book iv. 305–87. But Gager adds a dialogue between the Trojan leader and Illioneus, who, unlike Achates, exhorts him to listen to the Queen's entreaties. Let him share the Tyrian throne she offers instead of seeking a doubtful one beyond the sea, and affording a second example of Trojan treachery:

> Idem est vtriq; crimen & Paridi & tibi.

But Aeneas—and the scene is doubtless introduced for this purpose—protests against the comparison, and declares that guilt depends not on deeds but on the will:

> Non animus idem est, velle concludit scelus.
> Nocens vocatur sponte quicunq; est nocens:
> Inuit[9] abeo. Stat Iouis iussum exequi.

The Act closes with a dialogue between Dido and Anna, in which the Queen, after bewailing her threatened loss of honour, bids her sister (as in *Aen.* iv. 416–34) hasten to the sea-shore and implore Aeneas to delay his flight.

Act V is opened by another Senecan figure, a 'nuncia ancilla', who in a short speech relates that Dido has erected a sacrificial pyre, and is preparing to use magical rites. In the next scene the pyre appears in view, with Dido and the 'nutrix' Barce near it. The Queen, however, bids the latter withdraw to a distance:

> Quin tu remotum in parte seductâ locum
> Capesse, sola cantibus linquar meis.

As the Nurse, while obeying, still remains in sight and breaks in with short speeches more than once, it is evident from the phrases used that the stage must have been of considerable size, and was probably divided into an inner and outer part. Solemnly Dido addresses herself to her unwonted office:

Ordire vates, carmen effare, insolens
Ad hosce ritus: vtere insueto gradu
Habituq̃, qualem Colchidos dicunt statum.

She calls on all the Stygian deities (expanding two Virgilian lines into twelve), and on the gods of the upper air, and on—

montes, flumina, & venti, lacus
Amnesq̃, valles, maria, & herbarum genus,
Quotquot viretis flore mortifero.

After this invocation her speech is a verbal reproduction of *Aeneid* iv. 590–640 and 651–62, and at its close she stabs herself on the pyre in view of the audience. This is an unusual situation in the neo-Senecan stage, and it is emphasized by the Nurse's description (borrowed from Virgil) of the Queen's death-agony:

Ecce tollit ac ponit caput,
Cubitoq̃ nixa decidit, in altum vibrat,
Oculosq̃ rursùm claudit errantes.

Probably this departure from the traditional convention was due to the desire for an effective spectacular close. Iris, as in the epic, comes down from heaven to release Dido from her sufferings, and Holinshed's narrative still retains an echo of the impression made on the spectators by her 'descending and ascending from and to an high place'.

The work was thus a curious blend of a Senecan tragedy and a pageant, and though it doubtless answered its immediate purpose, and has many incidental merits, it is in the same falsetto relation to the *Aeneid* that Dryden's *The State of Innocence* is to *Paradise Lost*. It is perhaps significant that it was never printed, and that, unlike *Riuales*, it was not, as far as we know, afterwards revived. There is thus the less reason to suppose that (as has sometimes been conjectured) it influenced Marlowe or Nash in the composition of the English *Tragedie of Dido*. Either dramatist might of course have learnt particulars of the Christ Church play from Peele, but there is not the slightest internal evidence of connexion between the two works. Even the passages in the *Tragedie of Dido* which are most closely imitated from the *Aeneid*, and which it has been plausibly conjectured were written by Marlowe

before he left Cambridge in 1587,[1] have, curiously enough, no counterpart in Gager's play. Thus Marlowe (if the opening scene is by him) translates almost literally long sections of the dialogues between Jupiter and Venus, and Venus and Aeneas (*Aen.* i. 229–96 and 321–401) which Gager omits altogether. The English play also includes (II. i. 413–583) a condensed version of *Aeneid*, Book ii, for which Gager had adroitly substituted Ascanius's demonstration with the 'marchpaine'. It expands (III. ii) the fateful dialogue between Venus and Juno (*Aen.* iv. 90–128) to which Cupido only makes a brief reference in the Christ Church tragedy. Indeed, it is only in some of Dido's speeches in Act V, especially lines 1536–1618, and 1700–21, that there are approximately literal reproductions of the Virgilian source which are also found in Gager's play. While this general absence of verbal similarity between two plays, both incorporating long passages from the *Aeneid*, is remarkable, the essential difference between them lies, of course, far deeper. Gager had added to his borrowed material Senecan sententiousness and Elizabethan pageantry. The authors of the English *Dido* contributed touches of humour in the parts of Cupid-Ascanius and the Nurse, and a tragic underplot in the relations of Dido, Iarbas, and Anna. The African prince figures in the *Aeneid* as a slighted and jealous rival for the Queen's hand, but it is due to the English dramatists that he kills himself beside her funeral pyre, and that Anna, pursuing him with hopeless love, also takes her own life. These complications are in the characteristic vein of Elizabethan Romantic drama, but they mar, instead of heightening, the tragic effect of the immortal story. Where Marlowe (for it can be no other than he) set the stamp of his genius upon his handling of the tale was in the atmosphere of voluptuous charm that he threw round it. The passion of the Virgilian queen is a consuming flame; in Marlowe's heroine it is an intoxication of sensuous desire that sees the loved one through a rose-coloured mist (III. i. 719–24):

> Ile make me bracelets of his golden haire
> His glistering eyes shall be my looking glasse

[1] See C. F. Tucker Brooke, *Works of Marlowe*, 387.

His lips an alter, where Ile offer vp
As many kisses as the Sea hath sands:
Instead of musicke I will heare him speake,
His lookes shall be my only Librarie.

Or again (IV. iv. 1251–60):

Now lookes *Æneas* like immortall Ioue,
O where is *Ganimed* to hold his cup,
And *Mercury* to flye for what he calles?
Ten thousand *Cupids* houer in the ayre,
And fanne it in Æneas louely face.
. . . .
Heauen enuious of our cryes is waxen pale.
And when we whisper, then the starres fall downe
To be partakers of our honey talke.

Here we have the vision and the voice of genius transporting us into a world far other than that of Virgil, with its eternal undertone of melancholy. It is over these 'violent delights' that the Renaissance dramatist lingers; he turns away his gaze from their 'violent ends'. The final 'tragedie of Dido' is dispatched in some forty lines. Gager was truer to the spirit and perspective of the original when he devoted a whole Act to the culminating episode of the Queen's self-sought death, and elaborated it with scenic pomp.

The entertainment of the Polish prince, who on the following day, June 13, was escorted from the city by doctors and Heads of Houses on horseback, evidently gave great satisfaction, for on June 28 a letter of thanks to the University was read in Convocation from 'your very louinge freinde & Chancello^r, R. Leycester'.[1] The Earl excuses himself for not having written before, owing 'to y^e multitude & weightinesse of publike & priuate businesse: w^ch I assure you haue byn so many & of such importance as that I could haue no time at all to write vnto you'. He continues, 'y^e Prince Laskey hath made such report here of y^e great entertainement you gaue him, & of his great likinge of all your exercises of learninge,' and concludes by sending the Queen's thanks and his own.

Almost a year afterwards the Chancellor was to give unequivocal proof of his appreciation of the academic stage. In

[1] Twyne MSS. xvii, ff. 172–3.

July 1584 statutes were passed to deal with various disorders in the University, and among them was one directed against performances by professional players. In reference to this decree Leicester uses the following notable words:

'As I . . . thinke the Prohibition of common Stage Players verie requisite, so would I not have it meant thereby that the Tragedies, Comodies, and shews of Exercises of Learning in that kind used to be set forth by Universitye men should be forbedden, but accepting them as commendable and great furderances of Learning do wish them in any wise to be continued at set times and increased, and the youth of the Universitye by good meanes to be incouraged in the decent and frequent setting fourth of them.'[1]

It was therefore natural that when, in January 1584/5, the Chancellor paid another visit to the University he should be entertained by dramatic performances. On receiving notice of the visit, Convocation decreed on January 21 that 'ludi theatrici' should be held at Christ Church and Magdalen, and that 'viginti minae' should be allocated to the expenses thereof, to be divided equally between the two Colleges.[2] No detailed account of the visit seems to exist. Wood makes the vague statements that the Chancellor was 'accompanied with divers great persons', and that 'how long he tarried, I know not'. When he adds 'it appears that he was honourably received at Ch. Church, where he saw a pleasant Comedy, and another the day following at Magdalen Coll.',[3] Wood is probably merely drawing an inference from the decree in Convocation.

But there is other evidence that proves that Leicester's entertainment was not confined to comedies. In his dedication of *Meleager*, dated, as has been seen, January 1, 1592/3, Gager declares:

'Annus iam penè vndecimus agitur . . . ex quo Meleager primùm, octauus ex quo iterum in Scenā vênit. ac primùm quidē volens ac sponte suâ; triennio pòst, inuitatus, publicēq; euocatus, secundùm prodijt; assidentibus, ac spectantibus clarissimis Comitibus, Penbrochiensi, ac Lecestrensi, Cancellario tum nostro, vnà cum nobilissimo Philippo Sidnaeo nonnullisq; illustribus Aulicis.'

[1] Wood, *Annals*, ii. 222. [2] Twyne, *op. cit.*, f. 173.
[3] *Annals*, ii. 223.

This passage shows conclusively that *Meleager* was revived in honour of the visit of the Chancellor, who cannot have failed to see in it allusions to his own relations with the Virgin Queen. Sidney must for other reasons have been an equally interested spectator. He doubtless highly approved of a play which conformed throughout to the precepts that he had laid down in the *Apologie for Poetrie*.

How anxious Gager was to win his favourable verdict is plain from the passage in the epilogue addressed to Pembroke and Leicester, where the dramatist says he will be satisfied if they are pleased, and—

> Si spes Philippus nostra Sidnaeus probet,
> Vbicunq; sedeat ille, qui solus nouis
> Fauet poetis, ipse vates optimus,
> Meleager ipse noster; a verbis meis
> Triste absit omen, & procul fatis suis
> Miserandus absit, opto, Meleagri exitus.

From yet another source, the Christ Church accounts, we learn that, as on the occasion of Leicester's previous visit with the 'Lasky', elaborate scenic preparations were made. There is no reference to the particular occasion, and no direct allusion, except in the general heading, to the performance of a tragedy. But theatrical expenses in January 1584/5 can scarcely be assigned to other productions than those in honour of the Chancellor, and the detailed nature of the entries indicates that they relate to a special *gala* occasion. Moreover, the circumstances that the painting of the stage was partly done at night, and that costumes were borrowed from a distance, suggest that preparations had to be made hurriedly for an entertainment of more than ordinary importance. As the entries are the most detailed of the kind in the Christ Church accounts, and present various points of interest, they are here transcribed in full:

Expenses for Tragedies & cõ[edies].	To Henrie Clinche, Raph Clinche, and Roger More for payntinge eych of them 2 dayes 2 nightes and halfe a day at xvj^{d} a day, and as muche y^{e} night, to eych of them vj^{s} in all[1]	xviij^{li}

[1] The three payees receipt this part of the account.

12° Jan. to m^r Subdeane layde out in my absence as by bill . . . . . xxj^s

eodē to williā Pickhauer y^e carpenter for one cople of sawiers 5 dayes and an halfe about y^e stage at 18^d y^e day viij^s iij^d

Eodē to Cakebreade y^e smith for 15^li of candles for y^e comedie at 3^d y^s pound w^ch he bought at m^r Subdeanes appoyntmēt . . . . . iij^s ix^d

to him more for 16 dish candlestickes bought of y^e turner at m^r Subd. appoyntmēt . . . . . xx^d

to him more for his owne woorke 2 dayes about y^e candlestickes and his labo'ers one daye . . . . ij^s iij^d

To John Daniel for woorke donne about y^e stage p billā xxij^s xj^d

13° Jan. to M^r Maxie as layed forth by him p billā ix^li iij^s x^d

Eodē to M^r Lilies mā for y^e lone of sōme apparell ex co[n]sensu Decani et capituli . . . . . xx^s

Eodē to Nightingale for y^e lone of apparell and his charges hither ex consensu Decani et Capituli . . iij^li vj^s viij^d

Eodē to Tipslowe for y^e like cause w^th y^e like cōsent iij^li v^s

Eodē to his wyfe more for y^e lone of a cloke . . . v^s

Eodē to Tipslowe for y^e Reuels pmised by M^r Maxie, and allowed by M^r Deane and y^e chapitre . . . . v^li

Eodē to George y^e Paynter for his paynes ex cōsensu vt supra . . . . . xxxiij^s 4^d

Eodē for gloues sent to M^r Lilie for his curtesie in lendinge sōme apparell ex cōsensu Decani et Subdecani vj^s viij^d

Eodē to M^r Ed: Browne p billā . . . . . iiij^s

14° Jan. to M^r Maxie layde forth by him whē y^e comedie was played y^e seconde tyme p billā . . . iiij^s ij^d

To Williā Pickhauer for worke donne about y^e stage p billā xix^s ij^d

To Williā Pickhauer for 1980 foote of elme borde bought of M^r Milwarde and others for y^e stage at v^s ye hundreth iiij^li xix^s

To him more for Mosses mā woorkinge 2 dayes w^th him about y^e stage . . . . . xx^d

To Person y^e plumber for his woorke and an others in hanginge vp and takinge downe y^e candlestickes in ye haull . . . . . ij^s

To M^r Heyse[1] for y^e musicions at M^r Subdeanes appoyntmēt . . . . . v^s

Sum . . . . xxxiiij^li xiij^s iiij^d

[1] Henry Hayes signs his name as a receipt. It is uncertain whether the following entry refers to the January performances or others of a later date:

4° Maij payd to Jacksō by M^r Subdeane in my absence for small necessaries at y^e playes not thē demaunded vt patet p billā xxiij^d.

It is noticeable that the consent of the Dean and Chapter was necessary to the larger items. In other cases the Dean and Subdean, or the latter alone, formed sufficient authority. Edward Browne, of whom mention has already been made, and Emanuel Maxie (Maxey)[1] were probably the Censors. Tipslowe, who came from a distance, may have been John Tipsley, a tailor, whose name appears several times during this period in the accounts of the London Revels Office.

But the most important entries are those relating to 'M^r Lilie' and his 'man'. It can scarcely be any other than John Lyly who thus lent costumes for College plays. We know that on March 3, 1583/4, he was head of the Earl of Oxford's 'servauntes', probably his company of 'boyes', and we also know that this company played before the Queen at Greenwich on December 27 in the same year. If Lyly was still head of the company, it was probably in this capacity that he lent the apparel and received the customary academic acknowledgement of a pair of gloves.[2] In any case, unless there is a strangely misleading coincidence of names, the reference is of remarkable interest. Except for the entry of an unpaid bill of uncertain date for 23^s 10^d 'pro communis et batellis' in the Magdalen Bursar's Day-Book,[3] this appears to be the only official record of any connexion between Lyly and Oxford after he took his M.A. degree in 1575. Like Peele on the occasion of Alasco's visit, he was invited to help the Christ Church academic amateurs, though apparently only by lending costumes, in a production before great personages. Perhaps the unpaid buttery bill may have been an obstacle to his being asked to do a like service to Magdalen, where 'ludi theatrici' were also acted before the Chancellor, at a cost to the College of £3 19*s*. 5*d*.[4]

Probably no one at Magdalen was more actively interested in the performances in Leicester's honour than the recently elected Fellow, Robert Ashley, then in his twentieth year.

[1] Student of Christ Church, 1573; B.A., February 1575/6; M.A., May, 1579.

[2] It is worth noting that in the City of Oxford audited accounts mention is made of a visit in 1584–5 of 'the Erle of Oxfords musytions', who were paid 6*s*. 8*s*.

[3] R. W. Bond, *Lyly*, i. 14.

[4] Macray, *op. cit.*, iii. 24.

From his extant Latin autobiography[1] we learn that from his schooldays he had been an amateur actor. While a pupil at Corfe, during his father's keepership of the Castle, he took the chief part in a Christmas play, and later, when at school at Salisbury, he was similarly prominent in some plays acted at Wilton before the Earl of Pembroke, who was now accompanying the Chancellor on his visit to the University. His theatrical talents were not likely to run to waste at Magdalen, of which he had become a Fellow in 1584. He does not mention College plays, but he gives a vivid account of how, in 1588, the year after he had proceeded M.A., he was chosen for the ancient office of Christmas lord.

'Cum feriae Natilitiae Redemptoris appropinquarent celebrandae, et solennis in Collegio mos inolevisset vt aliquis e primarijs Juvenibus inter socios eligeretur quem ceteri vt Dominum praeconijs ac laudibus venerarentur et efferrent, cuius tanquam Principis auspicijs cetera turba in triumphis, tripudijs, et choraeis moderaretur; ob spem et expectationem quam de me concitaveram, Ego Dominus ac Princeps Juventutis sum salutatus, me in regno illo claustrali humeris evehunt, in solio constituunt, encomijs ac orationibus ornant, condecorant. Ego tam flagrantium adolescentûm in me propensionem grato animo recognoscere, modeste de meipso ac humiliter sentire, illorum de me Iudiciū et existimationē magni facere, vt mos erat, brevi oratiuncula significare satago. Dein regno, triumpho!'

Thus festivities of mediaeval origin still endured side by side with the more formal theatrical productions due to the humanist revival. Among the latter may be mentioned a performance by 'the Bachilers' of *Octavia*, probably the pseudo-Senecan play. For this they received, as recorded in the Christ Church accounts for 1590–1, the sum of 20 shillings, doubtless to defray the necessary expenses.

Two years later the College accounts contain a more important entry:

'to m^{r} hãmon[2] towards the furnishinge of two tragedies &

[1] British Museum Sloane MS. 2131; cf. Macray, iii. 92–7.

[2] Thomas Hammond, who matriculated at Christ Church, June 1584; B.A., 1587; M.A., 1590. It will be seen that, probably as one of the Censors, he made the arrangements for the plays, but did not write any of them.

one comedie at shorfetyde laste 1592 by m^r Deans appointmente & not accõpted . . . . . l^s.
to Daniell for settinge vp y^e stage & takinge hit downe & for boords at y^e same time . . . . lvij^s.
to the Smith for an yron rodd & rings for the stage ix^s vj^d & for an iron barr for the hall doore yet standinge there, & bolts & s[t]aple at ix^s. v^d. in all . . xviij^s xi^d.
Sũma . . . vj^li. v^s. xj^d.

The 'two tragedies & one comedie' here mentioned can fortunately be identified, as the performances were destined to become memorable in Oxford stage history. From the position of the entry in the accounts, coming some way, as it does, before the entry relating to the Queen's visit in September, 1592, 'shorfetyde laste 1592' is evidently shrovetide 1591/2, not 1592/3. As Easter in 1592 fell on 26 March (Old Style), Shrove Sunday was February 5. We know from the correspondence between Rainolds, Thornton, and Gager that *Vlysses Redux* was acted at Christ Church on that evening, and that Rainolds refused an invitation to be present at a Sunday performance.[1]

We know further, that the 'shroft-tide daliances', as Rainolds calls them, included a revival of *Riuales*, and a performance of Seneca's *Hippolytus* with additional scenes written by Gager. *Riuales* appears to have been acted on Monday, February 6, and *Hippolytus* on Tuesday, the 7th.[2]

[1] When *Vlysses Redux* was published by Joseph Barnes, the University printer, in May 1592, the title-page spoke of it as 'Tragoedia Noua. In Aede Christi Oxoniae Publice Academicis Recitata octauo Idus Februarij, 1591', i.e. February 6, 1591/2. This must be a mistake for the 5th, as the acting of the play on Sunday is one of the main issues between Rainolds and Gager (cf. *infra*, pp. 232, 239). Moreover, Rainolds, in his letter to Thornton, dated February 6, speaks of 'your curteous inviting of me yesterdaye againe to your plaies'.

[2] After the last performance Gager brought on the stage the figure of *Momus* (cf. *infra*, p. 233), whose speech, criticizing the three productions, is printed in *Vlysses Redux*. This suggests that it was delivered after *Vlysses Redux*, which would then have been the last, not the first, of the three plays. This was the order that I formerly adopted (*Fortnightly Rev.* Aug. 1907, pp. 311–12). But on further consideration I am of opinion that *Momus* was brought on after *Hippolytus*, the performance of which is first attacked. If so, *Riuales* must have been played on the previous night:

Hesterna qualis exijt Comoedia?
Amata sine riuale, Riuales, suis.

Of *Vlysses Redux*, mentioned last, it is said:

Tragoediae plausistis alternae quoque.

Shrove Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday are, of course, days on which plays were commonly acted.

The additions to the Senecan play were published by Gager in an appendix to *Meleager*, with the title *Panniculus Hippolyto Senecae Tragoediae assutus, 1591*[1]. They consist of two scenes. The first, headed *Actus primus, Scena prima*, and containing fifty-two lines, is evidently intended as a prologue to the play. Cupido appears from the lower world, where Theseus has been aiding Pirithous in his mad attempt to carry off Proserpina. The god of love is followed by Megaera, who denounces vengeance on Theseus:

> Impuné thalamos Ditis & Proserpinae
> Violet, amico dum gerit morem suo
> Comes otiosus? nil habet, quod agat domi?
> Habebit; et cur tam diu scelere haec vacat
> Domus nefando? tam diu est Phaedra innocens?
> Cur illa nondum flagrat Hippolyti face?
> Flagrabit; & iam flagrat; egressus meos
> Iam sensit amens.

Cupido declares that he will shield the house of Theseus from such infamy, which shall never be laid to his charge:

> Arcebo nefas,
> Et vindicabo Numen á scelere hoc meum,
> Non patiar isto nomen aspergi probro.
> . . . . . .
> Absiste Phaedra, pectore furorem excute,
> Nec me immerentem dedecore tanto affice.

But Megaera defies Cupido, whose power she alone does not feel:

> Vnde haec tyrannis tanta permissa est tibi
> In me, Cupido? sis licet caelo timor
> Terraeq́, & Erebo, sola contemnit tuos
> Arcus Megaera. sentiam ego flammas tuas?
> Megaera amet? ameturue? restinguam faces
> Facibus, & ignes obruam flammis tuos.

The love-god takes to flight before her fury, and after foreshadowing the horrors to come, she descends again to the underworld. This 'induction' probably gave an opportunity

[1] The publication was evidently due to the strictures by Rainolds in his letter of July 10, 1592, upon Gager's additions, especially the wooing of Hippolytus by the nymph Nais. In his answering letter of July 31 Gager declares (f. 56) 'the poore wenche I perceyve hathe byn hardely reported of to you, and worse a great deale than she deserved, as you and the worlde shall one day see'.

for impressive stage-effects, as in the scenes introducing deities in *Dido*, and it made the awful catastrophe that overwhelms the house of Theseus the direct result of his impious attempt upon the bride of the ruler of the shades.

The second scene added by Gager is much longer, containing almost 280 lines. It is headed *Actus 2*, *Scena 1*, and was probably introduced between the first and second Acts of the Senecan play. Hippolytus is discovered in a glade of the wood, whither he had set out with his hunting companions at the opening of the play. Here he is followed by Pandarus, who greets him as 'Magne ruris, sed melior vrbis decor'. The prince thinks he bears some message from the city, and has perchance come to tell of his father's return. The stranger declares that Theseus will not come back, and that he has cruelly wronged Phaedra and her kindred—Phaedra, who is the fervent admirer of her step-son's beauty and prowess:

> Quicquid facis
> Effert, iuuatq; ; te modo nimiam tuâ
> Istam exuisse mente duritiem expetit.
> Virtutis expers gemma, cuî prodest micans?
> Vigoris expers herba, cuî prodest virens?
> Amoris expers forma, cuî prodest nitens?

Hippolytus innocently answers that he will try to prove himself worthy of so good a step-mother:

> Nec enim nouercae, sed dehinc matris locum
> Supplebit.

Pandarus hints that in the forest beasts of the chase often mate with their own offspring, and that among men too there are reported to be races where—

> Et nata patri nubit, & nato parens,
> Et iuncta crescit vinculo pietas duplo.

Hippolytus retorts that beasts and men are ruled by different laws, whereupon Pandarus, shifting his ground, bursts into a passionate eulogy of love as a divinity:

> Qui maria, terras, pariter & caelos beat;
> Mundi catena, generis humani sator,
> Diuinus ardor, refugium rebus malis,
> Decus secundis, maximum iuueni bonum.

But the prince declares that love is a false deity, invented by human lust:

Maximum superis probrum.
Quo nulla terris grauior incubuit lues.
Insania diuturna, lymphatus furor.

He is rushing off to join his comrades when Pandarus places a letter in his hands containing an unsigned declaration of love. Though Hippolytus does not seem to guess that it is from Phaedra, he indignantly bids the villanous go-between take to flight, lest worse befall him, and fulminates against the 'semper impurum genus' of womankind.

Dramatically, this episode is far from being an improvement to the Senecan play. It anticipates in cruder form the dialogue between Hippolytus and the Nutrix in Act II of the tragedy. But it has a personal interest as being undoubtedly inspired by the disappointment of Gager's hopes, to which allusion has been already made.[1] He must have had in mind the wife of Edward Cordell, who at the end of 1590 had cheated him of his inheritance, when at the beginning of 1592 he wrote:

Totam mariti mulier euertit domum
Stirpemq; totam persequitur, odio viri.
Quis faeminarum multiplex narret scelus?
Non tota tellus charta si & caelum forent,
Et omnis atramētū aqua, & fluuio, & mari,
Lignum omne calami, quisq; scribendi artifex,
Nequitia vel sic faeminea queat exprimi.

When Pandarus has fled, Hippolytus is wooed in other fashion by the nymph Nais (played by Tobie Matthew, son of the late Dean of Christ Church)[2] who knows not whether he be a man or a god, but who entreats him to make her his wife. The situation is akin to that in Act I. iii of *Meleager*, with the difference that here it is the woman who exalts married above virginal chastity:

Castitas casto placet;
Quid ni placeret? sed metus vanos tibi
Hoc castitatis nomen ambiguum creat.
Simul ista posuit, suscipere prolem, Deus,
Et esse castum; purior nec caelebi
Quám coniugali castitas splendet toro.
Maritus esse pariter, & castus potes.

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 117. [2] Cf. *infra*, p. 246.

But Hippolytus has no ears for such argument,

Nec virginis, nec ista vox ad virginem est,

nor is he moved by her tales of how she speaks merely because she can no longer be silent, whatever her fate:

Mors, tegi affectum, fuit;
Et mors repelli: spesq; se mediam intulit,
Et, loquere, dixit, forsan is mitem tibi
Praebebit aurem; sin minús, praestat tamen
Mori loquutam.

He is stirred to no less angry denunciation than by the love-letter:

Vnde ista sexus dira faeminei lues?
O impudicum Naidum semper genus!

He rushes away, though he knows not where to find safety, whether in the city or the wild wood, while the nymph prays that the goddess who avenges the pangs of despised love may speedily requite him for his cruelty. Here again, as in Megaera's speech, we are prepared for the impending tragedy, but the episode, as Gager himself states,[1] was intended to be significant on its own account.

'The devyse was, partly to sett owte the constant chastetye or rather virginitie of Hippolytus, whoe neyther with honest love made to hym in the woods, nor with vnhonest attempts in the cyttye could be overcumme; partly to expresse the affection of honest, lawfull, vertuous, marriage-meaninge love; for no other did she profer.'

But however excellent Gager's intentions were, it was an artistic blunder to complicate for edifying ends the simple grandeur of the original plot. Nor had his pen the magic that alone can make comely the wooing of a youth by a maid. Nais, nymph though she be, is not of the exquisite sisterhood of Miranda.

In *Vlysses Redux*, produced on the following night, the Oxford playwright was far more happily inspired by another and even greater Greek heroic theme. His dramatization of the earlier books of the *Aeneid* in 1585 had been prompted by special circumstances. When nearly seven years later he took the second half of the *Odyssey* as the material of a tragedy,

[1] *Letter to Rainolds*, f. 56.

he had no other motive, so far as we know, than his enthusiastic admiration of Homer, which finds remarkable expression in the opening lines of the Prologue:

> Diuine vates, Graeciae miraculum,
> Homere primum, cuius ingenij iubar
> Orbi refulgens, tam sine exemplo editum,
> Illuminauit & homines simul & Deos,
> Qui carminum fulgore nobilium inclyto,
> Meritam abstulisti vatibus laurum omnibus,
> Quot ante fuerint quotue sunt, vel post erūt,
> Inuentor operis, atq; perfector tui,
> Imitatus ipse neminem, aut imitabilis,
> . . . . . qui mortalibus
> Mortalitatem demis, & tumulo evocans
> Diu sepultos, viuere facis mortuos.

In handling the Greek story, as compared with the Latin epic, Gager started with two great advantages. Virgil's narrative of the passion and death of Dido is so closely knit, and so dramatic in spirit and dialogue, that it shaped itself naturally into a play, and the adapter could do little but add some extraneous embroidery. He was also, as has been seen, under the disastrous necessity of doing violence to the Virgilian hexameters by turning them into Senecan metre. It was otherwise with the *Odyssey*. The return of the wanderer to his home and his vengeance on his wife's wooers, as told in the last twelve Books, supply splendid material for a play, and include episodes unsurpassed in beauty and moving power. But the loose structure of the primitive epic was far removed from the compact form of Senecan tragedy, and Gager had the opportunity, denied in *Dido*, of showing his mastery of dramatic technique by moulding into a shape suitable for the stage the immemorial tale of Ithaca. And if his iambics catch but a faint echo of 'the surge and thunder of the Odyssey', they are in a different tongue from the original, and so are not brought into an inevitably fatal comparison.

Gager himself, it is interesting to note, was not anxious as to whether his work was worthy of his source. What troubled him was the fear lest in following Homer's footsteps, and presenting Ulysses in beggar's guise and homely of speech, he was falling below the level of tragic art:

VLYSSES REDVX
TRAGOEDIA NOVA.

IN AEDE CHRISTI OXONIAE
PUBLICE ACADEMICIS RECITATA, OCTAVO IDVS
FEBRVARII. 1591.

OXONIAE, excudebat IOSEPHVS BARNESIVS, M. D. LXXXXII.

Nil audietis grande, nil Sophoclis stilo,
Senecaeué scriptum. quippe iam fractus mari,
Terráq; Vlysses, ponit ampullas miser,
Nec in cothurnis ambulat, mendiculus,
Senexq; factus, sed propè pedestri dolens
Sermone, socco pauper incedit leui.

So he tells his audience in the prologue, and in a curious address *Ad Criticum* he labours the point further. The critic is supposed to refuse the title of tragedy to the play 'quia & materiae quadam mendicitate peccat, dictioneq; plerumq; comicâ est'. To this Gager retorts that 'qui materiae, dictionisq; humilitatem carpit, non me, sed Homerum ipsum, id est principem, Ideam, ac Deum poetarum reprehendat'. Other objections raised by the critic are that the episode of the beggar Irus causes laughter 'quod in Tragaedia nefas est'; that the play 'vere tragico affectu vacat', because no one can mourn for the fate of the wooers and their mistresses; and that there is a happy ending. In reply, Gager quotes precedents for all these features of his work from the tragedies of Sophocles, Euripides, and Seneca. But he is not content to rely upon precedents, and he adds a declaration about his aims as a writer which would be startling from the pen of an academic dramatist had Gager not already given evidence of his broad sympathies.[1]

'Nam vt viuendi, sic etiam scribendi ratio mihi inprimis probatur ea, quae est paulò liberior ac penè dissolutior, quaeq; non tam doctissimis, quàm imperitis placeat. . . . Equidem ego hanc siue tragędiā, siue fabulam, siue narrationem historicam, siue quicquid eam dici ius fasq; est, non ad exquisitā artis poeticae tanquam aurificis statêram, sed ad popularis iudicii trutinam exigendam proposui, & effudi potiús quám scripsi.'

It was fitting that a playwright, with so broad a conception of his art, should dedicate his first printed drama to Lord Buckhurst, who had succeeded Leicester as Chancellor of the University in 1591, and who in his younger days had adorned vernacular verse by his contributions to *The Mirror for Magistrates*. Of these Gager speaks with an enthusiasm which is manifestly sincere, though clothed in the phrases of courtly compliment:

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 166.

Quid enim ego de grauissima illa Thomae Sakcuili, in Henrici Staffordi Ducis Buckinghamiae tragaediam Inductione, adeoque de tragaedia ipsa loquar? Verè hoc dicturus sum, nihil me vnquam legisse nostra lingua scriptum, tam magnificum, ac plane heroicum, nihil tam cothurno, atque ipsa aeternitate dignum.

It is curious that Gager should write of the 'Complaint' of the Duke of Buckingham as if it were a tragedy, in the ordinary sense of the term, and that in this connexion he should not refer to Buckhurst's share in *Gorboduc*. The cares of office had for many years cut the statesman off from literary labours, but it is interesting to learn that by helping to provide the outfit of the play on the Christ Church stage he did much for the success of *Vlysses*:

'In cuius etiam reditu exornādo, ita multum tibi Vlysses ipse debet, vt non magis sine tua gratia, ad scenicum nobis apparatum comparandum, in theatrum hoc anno, quàm sine Regis Alcinoi benignitate in patriam venire vnquam potuerit.'

Such material proof of the Chancellor's good-will must have given special importance to the performance, and the impersonation of the hero by Francis Sidney, a member of the illustrious family, lent distinction of another kind. In the commendatory verses which he prefixed to the play in its printed form, Sidney testifies to its success on the stage:

Actor Vlyssis ego, Reducis tu scriptor Vlyssis;
O si nostra tuae palma secunda foret!
Ille quidem redijt, tam gratus, vt ardua lis sit,
Gratior in Scenam vênerit, an Patriam.

The action opens at the point in the middle of Book XIII where Ulysses, having been landed during his sleep by the Phaeacians on the coast of Ithaca, awakes in amazement to find himself alone. There is no answer to his cries till Minerva appears in likeness of a nymph, for on the stage she could not, as in the poem, take first a man's and then a woman's form. The dialogue that follows, in which she reveals to the wanderer the state of affairs in his home, and disguises him as a beggar, is modelled closely on the latter part of Book XIII, though there is deft selection and re-

arrangement, with here and there an additional moralizing or lyrical touch. With the disappearance of the goddess, Eumæus enters 'è foribus', and the interview between the swineherd and his disguised master follows the general lines of the epic to line 177 of Book XIV. But at this point, after Eumaeus has declared that Ulysses will never return, and has mentioned Telemachus for the first time, Gager, with true dramatic sense, leaps forward to the beginning of Book XVI. He omits Ulysses' feigned story of his wanderings and the episode of his son's visit to Lacedaemon, and introduces the latter as having merely come from the city to Eumaeus's farm to escape from the riotous mirth and insolence of the wooers. The swineherd tells Telemachus that the stranger affirms that Ulysses will soon be home, and then goes indoors, leaving father and son together. The scene that follows, though suggested by Book XVI, 155–320, is developed on original lines. In the *Odyssey* Minerva appears, restores the hero to his own likeness, and bids him reveal himself to Telemachus. Gager heightens the dramatic effect by making Ulysses gradually lead up to the declaration of his identity while he is still transformed:

Vly. Audebo, quis fuerit tuus
Pater, rogare.
Tel. Filium certè decet
Esse sapientem, qui suum nouit patrem.
At misera genitrix nostra Penelope, satum
Vlysse dicit; at ego sanè id nescio.
. . . . . .
Vly. Sed ecce, quid si iam tibi iurem, affore
Hoc anno Vlyssem?
Tel. Nulla erit dicto fides.
Vly. Hoc mēse quid si dixerim?
Tel. Tantó minús.
Vly. Quid si esse in Ithacâ?
Tel. Crederē mēdaciū.
Vly. Quid si esse coràm?
Tel. Dicerem dictum ioco.
Vly. Quid si me Vlyssem, quem vides, esse asseram
Tel. Furere putarem.
Vly. Sed tibi iuro tamen,
Iouemq; testor, me quidem excepto, alterum
Nunquam affuturum, Telemache, patrem tibi.

Then, when Telemachus shows himself persistently incredulous, Ulysses calls upon the goddess, who appears to confirm his words. Father and son embrace with tears, and then retire within the farmhouse to hear each other's story, and to lay plans for the 'opera grauior' that lies before them.[1] With unconscious irony a Chorus of Ithacans closes the Act with a prayer for their wandering lord's return.

In Act II the scene changes to the courtyard of the palace outside the banqueting hall. The action opens with a procession and a dance, 'Proci primùm laruati alicunde prodeunt, saltantq; in scenâ, deinde exeunt in Conclaue.' On the character of the dance we get interesting light from Gager's reply (f. 55) to Rainolds's strictures on this episode:

'Owre younge men dansed only twoe solleme measures, withowte any lyter galliarde, or other danse, only for a decorum, to note therby vnto the auditorye, what revelinge thay weare to imagin the wooers vsed within, and yet truly if I might have over-ruled the matter, evne that littell also, had byn lefte owte; because I feared lest it shoulde be ill taken, thoughe I thought there was no ill in the thinge, as I nowe perceyve my feare was vayne.'

And from Rainolds's second letter[2] we learn the additional fact that those who played the parts of the handmaidens had sat during the first Act among the womenfolk in the audience, and only at this point were recognized as young men:

'How many did observe & with mislike have mentioned it that Penelope's maidens did not only weare [wemens raiment], but also sate in it among true wemen indeed, longer than David wore Sauls armour; neither were more knowne to them to bee men than Achilles was at first to Deidamia; until they suspected it, seeing them entreated by the wooers to rise and danse upon the stage.'

After the revellers have trodden their measures and gone into the hall, Ulysses appears with Eumaeus. In some lines

[1] It is curious that Gager should lengthen the period of the visit to the swineherd. Ulysses says 'Hospitia tridui praestet Eumaeus tibi'. In the *Odyssey* Telemachus returns home next day at dawn, and his father follows in the afternoon. The dramatist was evidently indifferent about the unity of time.

[2] *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes*, 102.

of Gager's invention he declares that he is qualified for household service with the wooers:

> Nam coquere noui cibos,
> Assare carnes, struere conuiuis focum,
> Diffindere etiam ligna, vinum promere,
> Et opera cuncta facere, quae serui infimi
> Praestare domibus vspiam opulentis solēt.

The swineherd retorts that it is not such as he whom the wooers have to minister to them:

> Sed iuuenes comâ
> Molli decoros, ora queîs dapibus nitent,
> Vinoq̄, pulchrâ veste, culturâ, otio.

The wanderer has immediate proof of the insolence of the wooers' retinue. In a scene taken almost verbally from the *Odyssey* XVII. 212–52, Melanthius the goatherd loads him with abuse as he passes into the banqueting hall. Then to the sound of music a traverse must have been drawn, disclosing the hall in the back part of the stage, for there is a stage-direction, 'Personat intus Symphonia, & panditur conclaue,' and Eumaeus cries:

> Sed ecce dulci personat strepitu domus,
> Et hîc procorum tota discumbit cohors.

The scene thus introduced, wherein Antinous insults and spurns Ulysses, follows closely in the main Book XVII. 345–487, but Gager interpolates nearly fifty lines borrowed in part from the dialogue between Telemachus and the wooers in Book I. 368–404, and he closes the scene with a song by the minstrel Phemius (impersonated by the master of the Christ Church choristers[1]) during which, as the stage-direction runs, 'tollūtur dapes'. It would seem that the traverse was at the same time drawn close, for the quarrel between Ulysses and Irus which follows, taken without change from the first 120 lines of Book XVIII, is described as going on 'propter conclaue', and at the end of the scene the wooers who have been looking on 'exeunt in conclaue'. Amphinomus, as in the epic, alone remains behind, to pledge the stranger in wine, and to hear from him the unheeded warning of the wrath to

[1] See *infra*, p. 236.

come, before he follows his companions into the hall. With a short lamentation by the Chorus over the degeneracy of the times the Act closes.

The opening scene of Act III introduces Penelope in her chamber among her maids, indignant at the brutality of Antinous to the stranger. While she waits his coming, to hear tidings from him about her husband, Hippodamia sings an ode, of Gager's invention, in praise of chastity. Penelope's applauding cry,

> Vt semper aures afficere cātus solet,
> Vbi dulce carmen conuenit symphoniae,

reminds us that the palace of Ithaca looks westwards over the sea to the gardens of Belmont.

With the entrance of Ulysses, to tell Penelope the feigned tale of his meeting with her husband, the play follows closely Book XIX. 96–264. But towards the close of the scene the dramatist adds some fine original touches. Heartbroken by the mystery of her lord's fate, Penelope utters the wish that Troy had never fallen:

> Quid illa cineres facta, iam prodest mihi,
> Si maneo qualis ante, si semper meus
> Vir est carendus? diruta sit alijs, tamen
> Mihi restat vni Troia. da veniam precor
> Argolica tellus, vtiliús etiam mihi
> Iam Troia staret, scirem vbi pugnas daret,
> Et mea querela iuncta cum multis foret.

Even the assurance that Ulysses is likely to return home speedily reminds her of the change that the years have wrought in herself:

> Certé puella quae profecturo fui,
> Anus videbor facta, redeunti statim.

The scene, however, lacks its natural climax through the omission of the episode wherein the old nurse Eurycleia recognizes her master while washing his scarred limb. It would have been doubtless difficult to represent the recognition on the stage in Penelope's presence and yet unobserved by her.

Up to this point, which is almost exactly the middle of the play, Gager's work has been mainly one of selection and rearrangement. Henceforward he gives himself a much freer

hand. Thus the scene that follows between Amphinomus and Penelope is of his own invention, and both in its use of στιχομυθία and in its sustained dialectic is markedly more Senecan than those drawn from the *Odyssey*. Amphinomus pleads that the queen should no longer delay her answer to the wooers, and she urges the necessity of deliberation in so momentous a matter. Argument flies to and fro between them:

Am. Quisquamné amorem regere consilio valet?
Pen. Qui non amorem sequitur erronem ducem.
. . . . . .
Am. Sapere & amare vix, puto, Superis datum est.
Pen. Tantó cauendū est hominibus magis hoc malū.
. . . . . .
Am. Magis bené est cuicunq; cum socio est bené.
Pen. Minùs malé est, cuicunq; sibi soli est male.

Amphinomus then declares that it is the duty of a widow in all cases to marry again:

Intacta forsan horreat virgo virum,
Experta cupiat. quae semel nupsit bené,
Nubat secundùm, quia semel nupsit bené.
At enim marito quae semel nupsit malo,
Nubat secundum, nubat vt tandem bono.
Sic vidua semper properet ad thalamos nouos.

Penelope retorts in kind:

Amphinome, nobis alia mens animo sedet.
Nam quae marito nupsit aliquando bono,
Metuat secundum, né viro nubat malo.
At quae proteruo nupsit infaelix viro,
Fugiat secundum, quia semel nupsit malo.
Sic vidua thalamis semper abstineat nouis.

One wonders if any of the Christ Church audience, in spite of academic regulations to the contrary, were by chance present some time later at a performance by professional touring players in Oxford, when Penelope's views were more passionately expressed by Hamlet, Prince of Denmark.

Amphinomus then taunts the queen with her fidelity to a soldier-spouse who makes light of her to his new loves:

Malefida semper militia custos fuit
Thalami iugalis; militem astringas toro?

Quoties amore blandiens, Dominae suae
Narrauit, vxor quam foret sibi rustica,
Quae sola lanas esse non sineret rudes?

Penelope's reply is somewhat startling. She protests, indeed, against unfounded aspersions on her husband's honour, but contends that, even if they were true, men, and especially kings, must not be judged by too strict a moral code:

Lex alia regij, alia priuati est tori.
Nec enim seueras coniugem fas est viro
Statuere leges, arctior quam castitas,
Fidesq; maior, quám virum, semper decet.

Gager may merely thus have wished to cover his hero's relations with Calypso and Circe, known to the audience though not to the queen. But, possibly, in the matter of faithfulness, as in that of chastisement,[1] he would not have had the same law for husband and for wife.

Amphinomus then shifts his attack, and urges that even if Ulysses were to return, he would be wrinkled and white-haired, the mere ghost of himself. But the prospect of seeing him again, however changed, stirs Penelope to lyric rapture:

Illo recepto nil foret miserum mihi,
Amplexu Vlyssis emori, gratum foret.
Cui tota nunquam Graecia aequalem tulit,
Virtute, famâ, robore, ingenio, fide,
Splendore, linguâ, genere, consilio, manu,
Almaeq; pacis, pariter ac belli artibus.

At last, however, worn out by her wooer's persistent pleading, she promises speedily to make a choice of a second mate.

In contrast with this noble example of wifely loyalty, Gager elaborates from the brief indications in the epic the intrigue between Melantho, the handmaiden, and Eurymachus. Ulysses, who hides himself in a corner of the stage, to spy upon the misdeeds of the wooers, overhears a dialogue between the guilty pair, after Melantho has sung 'dulce aliquid' to the music of her lyre. Eurymachus protests passionately that he only wooes the queen because she is a wealthy widow:

[1] In his poem *Pyramis* he asserts that it is legitimate for a husband to beat his wife, but not vice versa.

quam statim si ducerem,
Sine te voluptas nulla mihi praedae foret
Dulcis Melantho; proprior accedit meae
Tua mollis aetas.

Melantho cannot understand why the queen delays her choice, when time is fleeting:

Momenta pulchri corporis spolium auferunt,
Fragilisq; res est forma, dum licet, vtere.
Sit misera semper, quae sibi luctum creat.

With typical courtesan philosophy she urges, however, that the wooers would speed better if they were more open-handed. Then suddenly catching sight of Ulysses in his hiding-place, she gives the alarm to her companion:

Sed Hospes ecce quo latet miser angulo;
Vt nostra, vereor, aure ne verba hauserit!

and she turns upon the stranger with bitter words of insult. Beneath the pleading accents of his reply is the solemn prophetic undertone of the wrath to come:

At quaeso, cùm sis prima famularum, mihi
Ne penitús omnem eripere laetitiam velis,
Infensa né sit forté Penelope tibi,
Aut ipse Vlysses veniat; & spes est adhuc
Non nulla reditus. vtq; iam longé occubet,
At talis illi filius superest tamen,
Quem nulla lateant facta famularum domi,
Paenasq;, vires cùm dabit Deus, exiget.

In the opening scene of Act IV the note of fast-approaching doom upon the evildoers is struck in sterner fashion. Ulysses, in a soliloquy that has more of Senecan than of Homeric inspiration, gloats over the bloody vengeance that he is about to wreak:

Praegestit animus latera transfixos humi
Videre stratos; aspicere mensas libet
Tabo fluentes, aspicere pateras libet
Cerebro madentes. spem tibi hanc intus foue.
Hostem iuuat ridere; quantó plus iuuat
Mactare? non est suauius spectaculum
Hoste interempto. tu meas vires alis
Vindicta dulcis, nulla te melior Dea est,
Te propter vnam, sufficio tantis malis.

After the invocation in the last three lines, the introduction of Minerva to give counsel to the hero, as in *Odyssey* xx. 30–55, would scarcely have been in keeping. Gager omits the episode, and passes on to the scene (*Od.* xx. 165–237) where Ulysses is addressed by the several retainers in friendly or hostile words. The dialogue takes place on the threshold of the banqueting-chamber, whence the retainers pass one by one into the outer hall, for the stage-direction runs: 'Omnes in hac scena, in transitu Vlyssem alloquuntur, & e cōclaui, in aulam exeunt.' It is in the hall that the following scene, wherein the suitors try in vain to bend the bow of Ulysses, is laid. Here the dramatist naturally follows, in its main lines, Book XXI of the epic, but he works up the situation with skilful touches which must have gone home to an audience with whom archery was still a favourite pastime. How animated and rich in effective stage-business is this dialogue between Antinous and the other suitors, which is mainly of Gager's own invention:

Ant. Ergo agite socij, tuq; dextrorsū incipe,
Pisander. *Pis.* heu me, quis Deus, tam ferreū
Lunabit arcum? nemo quem mortalium
Curuabit vnquā. *Ant.* quae tibi vox excidit
Pisander? ergo quia tibi robur deest,
Hunc nemo flectet? at aliquis te fortior
Sinuabit. agédum, capiat Eurydamas locū.
Eury. Quis iste mēbris torpor insedit meis?
Haud ipse tendam. *Ant.* quid noui hoc monstri putem?
Tu Polybe tenta. *Poly.* qui malum, flecti nequit
Frangatur arcus. *Ant.* tentet Euryades. *Eur.* locum
Accipiat alter, nam mihi vires labant.
Ant. Ctesippe. *Cte.* nec Ctesippus huic par est malo.
Ant. Liocrite experire. *Lio.* quis nobis Deus,
Aut fascinator, tantulum inuidit decus?
Ant. Vt flectat arcum nemo? figendi scopum
Quae spes relicta est? pergat Agelaus tamen.
Age. Dispereat arcus iste cum pharetrâ, precor
Dedecore qui me, quiq; vos tanto afficit.
Ant. Agite iuuentus Elate, Liode, inclyta,
Eurynome, Demoptoleme, & Amphimedon, proci.
Quid hoc sit? hanc, Amphinome, tu labem elue.
Amp. Quis eluet nos Oceanus? equidem mori
Minus esse, quám spe decidere tantâ, reor.

The taunting speeches of the wooers, when the stranger essays the task that has baffled them, are reproduced from the original with added touches of dramatic incisiveness. And when to their stupefaction he performs the feat, Antinous, as their leader, invokes a curse upon him:

> Disperdat aliquis improbum erronem Deus.
> Vnde iste nobis vênit? atqui vtinā priús
> Alibi perisset, quam domum hanc tetigit gradu.
> . . . . . .
> Dehinc voluptas nulla nos capiet dapum,
> Quod iste nobis dedecus tantum intulit.
> Sed eamus, & remedia curemus malo.

With which words—to be so grimly mocked by the sequel—he retires with his companions into the banquet*ing*-chamber. It is at this point that Gager introduces the affecting episode of Ulysses' revelation of himself to Eumaeus and Philoetius, which in the more loosely-knit poetical narrative is inserted in the middle of the story of the bow. A more striking example of rearrangement of material, with original additions, is found in the next scene. It opens with a dialogue between Antinous and Amphinomus as to the expediency of killing Telemachus, for which Gager goes back to *Odyssey* xvi. 371–405. But Amphinomus is much more resolutely opposed to the deed than in the epic:

> Proinde nemo, me quidem viuo, ac solum
> Spectante, saeuas afferet *iuueni* manus.

The debate between the two wooers is expanded in sententiously Senecan fashion, for which, of course, Homer gives no hint:

> *Ant.* Quisquamné sanus viuere inimicum volet?
> *Am.* Perijsse cupio, causa perimendi haud placet.
> *Ant.* Omnis inimicum causa perdendi bona est.
> *Am.* Posuisse potiús odia nobis proderit.
> *Ant.* Eat ira pueris, odia perdurent viris.
> Iucunditates odia mellitas habent;
> Odisse dulce est. *Am.* saepe laus ingens tamen,
> Parcere inimico, maximis ducibus fuit.
> *Ant.* Inanis illa est, saeuaq; misericordia.
> Qui parcit hosti, prodigus vitae suae est.

Antinous describes the situation with cynical candour. Their

offences are beyond pardon; it is merely a question of which side will strike first:

> Quin istud ipsum, quód nimis saeuum putas,
> Fortasse nobis ipse Telemachus parat.
> Aequissimum est inferre, cum timeas, malū.

It is at this point that, with fine dramatic instinct, Gager introduces from *Odyssey* xx. 350–357 the wonderful lines in which the second-sighted seer Theoclymenus gives warning that the walls are dabbled with blood, and the chambers phantom-haunted, and the sun is dead in heaven. Antinous (not Eurymachus, as in the epic) laughs him to scorn, and bids him be thrust out of doors. As he goes forth he cries aloud that the avenger is already within the gates:

> ecce rabidus, atque irâ furens
> Redijt Vlysses, redijt, & dicta omnia
> Et facta vidit. caena vobis vltima
> Instruitur.

And the leader of the wooers, in spite of his renewed derision, shows that the seer's words have not left him unmoved

> Valeat propheta stultus, at, Socij, statim
> Epulas paremus, & quidem tantò magis
> Indulgeamus dapibus, & vino optimo
> Has diluamus noctis horrendae minas.
> Caenam, Melanthi, quaeso magnificam pares,
> Vt hunc refellat laetitia vatem noua.

These are his last words in the play. In Act V comes the cataclysm. The situation is one of remarkable interest on technical as well as on broader grounds. The last struggle of men-at-arms, held at bay in a chamber from which there is no escape, is a feature of the primitive epics of many peoples. In the *Fight at Finnsburgh*, in the *Nibelungen Lied*, in the *Odyssey* (to take a few instances) the same episode is found, though with many variations of detail. It is instructive to see how Gager adapts it to the conditions of the Elizabethan stage. From the detailed orders given by Ulysses to his companions, and from the stage-directions, we can reconstitute the scene, though some minor points are not quite clear.

The wooers are feasting in the banqueting-chamber behind the traverse. The hero appears in the outer hall with

Telemachus and the loyal thralls; he knows that his victims are trapped:

> Clausi tenentur, parietes solido fugam
> Saxo rigentes obstruunt, portas serae
> Cohibent, & omnes vndiq; occlusae fores.
> Vt nemo iam me viuus inuito exeat.

He arranges for every outlet to be barred:

> Eumaee, tu iam limen occlusum tene,
> Quá pateat hortus; tuq; postici vias
> Serua, Philoeti; nostra sit custodia
> Conclauis aditus iste, quà tritum est iter.

He then announces his plan of campaign:

> Primùm sagittis desuper missis, procos
> Figemus; iste tympanum pulset foris,
> Ne clamor aedes penetret, aut vrbem excitet.
> Vobis canorum lituus vbi signum dabit,
> Foribus reuulsis irruite iuncto impetu;
> Clausos, inermes, saucios, dabimus neci.

There follows the stage-direction, 'Illi dum ascendunt, interim personat intus Symphonia.' Music (that is to say) floats through from the hidden inner stage, where the wooers are feasting, to fill the short interval while the avengers are making their way to the balcony which projected over the inner stage. Then the curtain must have been drawn, revealing them aloft, and the revellers carousing below.

Ulysses lets fly a shaft, and Antinous falls, as in the epic, without a word. The outcries and entreaties of the astounded company, and the stern denunciations of the lord of Ithaca, now revealed in true majesty to friends and foes, are copied at first from the *Odyssey* (xxii. 27–67). But Gager, probably to avoid a murderous fray in sight of the audience, departs from his original by representing the wooers as completely unarmed and defenceless. They cannot show fight, but try in vain to escape:

> *Proci.* Eheu perimus. *Polybus.* aliquis effringat fores.
> *Ctesippus.* Eheu tenemur, exitum claudunt serae.
> *Liocritus.* Mensas sagittis obijcite. *Pro.* transfigimur,
> Arma, arma, Ciues; arma quis miseris dabit?

Agelaus, pierced by an arrow, pleads in vain that his compeers

may be granted weapons to fight with, instead of being slaughtered like sheep. In vain, too, Amphinomus (in words which Homer gives to Liodes) begs for mercy on the score that he has opposed many of the misdeeds of his companions. The minstrel Phemius and Medon are alone spared, as in *Odyssey* xxii. 344–77. Then Ulysses proclaims that the time is come for the final assault, and Telemachus gives the preconcerted signal on the trumpet. A detailed stage-direction shows what follows:

'Signo dato descendunt, & postico cōclaue ingrediuntur, rēq; gladijs comminus gerūt, ingenti cum tumultu, & strepente tympano, vt decoro inseruiatur.
Peractâ caede, fores stragemq; pandunt, iacentibus, transfixisq; procis, & ora manusq; sanguine respersis, euersâ ac cruentatâ mensâ, gladijsq; sanguine stillantibus, Melanthium vinctum educunt.'

While Ulysses and his companions were coming down from the balcony, the traverse must have been drawn. They then entered behind it, by one of the doors of the inner stage, and the hand-to-hand *mêlée* took place out of sight of the audience, and with the cries of the slaughtered drowned by the rolling of the drum, 'vt decoro inseruiatur'. The curtains were then drawn back, and the scene of carnage exhibited, with Ulysses in the midst, exultant at the vindication of the sanctity of wedlock:

> Sic ille ducat, quisquis alienam, viro
> Viuente sociam tentat. ô spectaculum!
> O nuptialis thalamus! o sponsi inclyti!

His orders for the execution of Melanthius and the twelve wanton handmaidens are followed abruptly by a call for music:

> Mollem subinde Phemius pulset lyram,
> Novamq; simulet tota laetitiā domus,
> Ne minima caedis suspitio in vrbem exeat.

This seems at first a curiously inappropriate substitute for the cleansing of the polluted chamber, for which the Homeric hero gives directions. But Gager doubtless wished to soothe, by a musical interlude, the emotions which must have been highly wrought up by the preceding scene, and at the same time to

give an opportunity for the stage to be cleared for the final episodes.[1]

As Phemius ends his song, the handmaiden Melantho is led in, with a rope round her neck, by Philoetius. She makes bitter mock of so shameful a form of death:

> An hoc monile misit Eurymachus mihi?
> Hic nuptialis nodus?
> . . . . . .
> En quid Melātho, Eurymache, tibi pēdit tua!
> Eheu Melātho, Eurymache, tibi pendet tua.

She warns all maidens to beware of sacrificing their chastity to snatch a fleeting pleasure. But when Philoetius seeks to hurry her forth to her doom, she cannot but glance back regretfully at the joys she is surrendering for ever:

> Animula, quae mox dulcis inuises loca,
> Pallidula, tremula, nudula? haud posthac dabis
> Vt ante ludos, vagula, petulans, blandula,
> Non veste molli gesties, non tu dapes
> Gustabis ore, dulce non vinum bibes;
> Furtiua nullus oscula Eurymachus dabit.

Modern taste may be troubled by so perverse an application of Hadrian's hymn, but it was only the last line that excited the indignation of Rainolds, who declaims against '*Eurymachus* kissing of *Melantho*, and *Melantho* bewailing the case that *no more kissing*, *nor dancing now*, when she must be hanged'.[2] But Gager repudiates the charge of unseemly behaviour:

'As for the danger of kissinge bewtifull boyes, I knowe not howe this suspition shoulde reache to vs, for it is vntrwe whosoeuer towlde you so, that owre Eurymachus did kisse owre Melantho. I have enquyred of the partyes themselues, whether any suche action was vsed by them, and thay constantly denye it; sure I ame, no suche thinge was taught. if you coniecture there was kissinge because Melantho spake this verse, *Furtiua nullus oscula Eurymachus dabit*, you may perhapps thereby dislike my discretion, for makinge a younge paynym Ladye, so to beewayle her shamfull deathe (thoughe

[1] Similarly in *Dido* music was played while the stage was being cleared after an elaborate scene. Cf. *supra*, p. 186.

[2] *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes*, 20.

I can not thinke yet, howe I shoulde mende it) yet, therby no kissinge can be proued agaynst vs, but that rather, that thinge only in wordes was expressed, which was thought decent for suche a one as she was, and in her case to utter.'[1]

The two last scenes, in which Euryclea announces to the incredulous queen her husband's return and vengeance on the wooers, and Penelope is at length convinced that Ulysses stands before her by his description of their bed, follow *Odyssey* xxiii. 1–240, but with deft variations and omissions. Indeed, when in the Epilogue Gager pours out his gratitude to Homer for having provided all the materials for his dramatic fabric,

Lignumq́, caementumq́, lapidesq́ optimos,

he does himself something less than justice. For, as examination of the play has shown, many scenes are of his own invention, and even in those based directly upon the Homeric text he is often a free adapter rather than a translator. Still less justified is his depreciatory estimate (in more emphatic terms than in the Prologue) of the style in which the tragedy is written:

quisue Maeonidae induat
Senecae cothurnum? non opis nostrae fuit,
Non illa mens, non animus, hanc tantam Choro
Tentare laudem. propterea Iambi pedes
Nouo docuimus repere superbos gradu,
Solitumq́ fastum ponere, & turgentia
Proijcere verba. nam tibi, Seneca, ordinem
Quis aut secundum speret, aut quis tertium?

It was, in fact, a sound dramatic instinct that prompted Gager, in adapting a primitive epic for the stage, to dispense with most of the Senecan rhetorical top-hamper, and to aim in his 'tragoedia noua' at a realism of speech which caught something of Homeric simplicity and force, though it missed Homeric majesty. To acclimatize the *Odyssey* to the conditions of the Elizabethan University stage could not but be a *tour de force*. But granted the conditions, it is difficult to see how the task could have been better carried out than in *Vlysses Redux*. In its own kind, the play is a masterpiece, a worthy tribute

[1] *Letter to Rainolds*, f. 55.

by renaissance Oxford to 'Homer, Prince of Poets' before Chapman had begun to interpret him to the wider world of English readers.

It might seem that a tragedy on an immemorial theme would have lain far from the field of contemporary controversy. But some remarkable circumstances that accompanied the performance of *Vlysses Redux* and the two plays which immediately followed it, aroused in its most embittered form an antagonism to the academic stage of which there had already been manifestations at both Universities. To this controversy attention must now be turned.

CHAPTER X

FRIENDS AND FOES OF THE UNIVERSITY STAGE

IT does not fall within the scope of this volume to deal with the controversy which raged during the later Tudor period between the assailants and the defenders of the popular theatre. The pamphleteering warfare in which Northbrooke, Gosson, and Stubbes were protagonists on one side, and Lodge and Nash on the other, is familiar to all students of dramatic history.[1] Its counterpart in the practical field was the struggle between the civic authorities in London and elsewhere, animated by Puritan and class hostility to the 'common players', and the Court and Privy Council which gave them patronage and protection. During the last three decades of Elizabeth's reign the struggle continued, with results favourable, in the main, to the players and their supporters.

What concerns us is the specialized phase of the conflict, both in its practical and its literary aspects, which was developed at Oxford and Cambridge. And here we must distinguish carefully between two independent, though not unrelated, questions, the attitude of the academic authorities to College plays and to performances by travelling companies. To professional performances the Heads of Houses were as hostile in the later sixteenth century as the Lord Mayor and Corporation to the entertainments at the 'Theater' or the 'Curtain'. In October 1575 the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge appealed to the Privy Council—

'touchinge the misdemeano^{r} of diuers badd psons, w^{ch} wandringe aboute the Countrye vnder the colou^{r} of licenses for the makeinge of shewes, and playeinge of Enterludes and settinge furth of other vaine games and pastimes, ... thereby

[1] A succinct account is given by J. Dover Wilson in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, vi. 386-97.

allure manie of ou^r^ Scholers from the good course of theire studies and vsual exercises for the increase of learninge.'[1]

The Privy Council, though it supported the players in London, partly because they provided entertainment for the Queen and Court, was always ready to inhibit their performances in or near the University towns. Thus on October 30, 1575, the Lords of the Council wrote to the Vice-Chancellor:

'Wee beinge informed very credibly of some attempts of light and decayed ꝑsons, who for filthy lucre are mynded, and do seke now Adaies to devise, and sett vp in open places shewes of vnlawfull, hurtfull, ꝑnicious, and vnhonest games neere to that Vniu'sity of Cambridge, do consider that it cañot be, but A greate number of the youthe, and others of the same, may be thereby intyced from theire places of learninge, to be behoulders, learners, and practisers of lewdnes and unlawfull actes: And that also (w^ch^ in this speciall time of so generall an infection of the plague is to be regarded) that thereby great Assemblies of vulgar people should be made, whereby the infeccõn of the plague mighte be broughte to the Vniu'sitye, as lately it was very grevouslye... Therefore wee... do will and charge you the Vicechũncello^r^, and w^th^ yo^u^ all others aswell of the Vniu'sity, as of the Towne, or of the Coũtrey w^th^in fyue myles circuite, that are ether by her Ma^ties^ Comission or by Charter Iustices of peace, to haue good regard that in no wise there be from henceforthe any open shewes made or suffered by colo^r^ of any licenses of Iustices or others to procure assemblies wherein any mãner of vnlawfull games shalbe exercised, neither yet any assemblies in open places of multitudes of people be suffered to be made w^th^in that Vniu'sity and Towne, or w^th^in fyue miles compasse, but such as by the lawes of the Realme are vsuall.'

The contents of this letter were to be communicated to the Mayor of Cambridge 'and his Bretherne, and... all other beinge Iustices of peace and dwellinge w^th^in fyue myles of that Vniu'sity'. It seems to have been effectual, for seventeen years later the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses testified that in consequence of it 'not only ou^r^ younger sort of Students weare the better ordered, but also the whole Vniu'sitie the les troubled for manie yeares after'.

[1] Lansdowne MS. 71, f. 203; printed in Malone Society *Collections*, i. 192–3. The letters that follow between the Privy Council and the Cambridge authorities are quoted from the *Collections*.

Though Lord Burghley and the Earl of Sussex were the first signatories of the Council's letter, this did not prevent them, in the summer of 1580, together with the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Bromley, recommending unto the Vice-Chancellors of both Universities Lord Oxford's players, 'that they might shew their cunning in several plays already practised by them before the Queen's Majesty.' But the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, John Hatcher, who had been Fellow of St. John's and Regius Professor of Physic, wrote to Burghley on June 21, that he had felt constrained to prohibit them from performing on the following grounds, in addition to the Council's ordinance of October 30, 1575:

'the seed, the cause, & the fear of the pestilence is not yet vanished & gone this hot time of the year; this Midsummer Fair time hauing confluence out of all countries, as well of infected as not: the Commencement time at hand, which requireth rather diligence in study than dissoluteness in plays: and also that of late we denied that like to the right honorable the Lord Leicester his servants.'

Hatcher adds that 'being willing to impart something from the liberality of the University to them, I could not obtain sufficient assent thereto, and therefore I delivered them but xx^{s} towards their charges'.

In spite, however, of the hostility of the University authorities, various travelling companies visited Cambridge during the following decade, and, as appears from entries in the Borough accounts, were patronized by the Mayor and Corporation. On July 9, 1584, the Queen's players were paid 20 shillings 'by the commaundement of M^{r} Maior & the counsell'; in 1584/5 the same company received 26^{s} 8^{d}. In 1586/7, 'the players that plaid before M^{r} Maior' were rewarded with 30 shillings, and in 1587/8 'certeine players' were paid 20 shillings 'to plaie at M^{r} Maiors house'. In 1591/2, Lord Strange's men received 20 shillings, and the Queen's players ten shillings.[1]

In the summer of 1592 the last-named company openly defied a warrant of the Vice-Chancellor, Robert Some, Master

[1] Extracts from the *Libri Rationales*, or *Account of the Town of Cambridge*, 1510–1787, in Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 401 ff.

of Peterhouse, and other Justices of the Peace, inhibiting them from playing in the neighbouring village of Chesterton, and the University authorities were obliged on September 18 to appeal to the Privy Council to enforce their order of 1575:

'At this time of Sturbridge faire (greate numbers of people resortinge hither from all partes of the Realme) certaine lighte psons pretendinge them selues to be her Ma^ties Plaiers, albeit the Vicechūncello^r, by auctoritie of yo^r LL:^ps said Lres, vtterlie forbadd them to make shewe of theire exercises w^thin this Vniu'sities precinctes, did notw^thstandinge take the boldnes not only heere to proclaime theire Enterludes (by settinge vp of writinge about ou^r College gates) but also actually at Chesterton to play the same; . . . not only the Plaiers them selues weare (by vertue of yo^r LL:^ps said Lres) flatly inhibited to play theire Enterludes w^thin fyue myles compasse of this Towne: But also streict chardge was given to the Constable of Chesterton, both by word of mowth and by precept in writinge subscribed by the Vicechūncello^r and other Iustices of the peace, aswell to w^thstand the parties yf they shuld theare attempt to sett furthe theire plaies, as also to warne the Inhabitūntes not to giue them enterteinment for the same. And yet hath all this been so slendarlie executed or rather so wholie neglected, as thoughe they had of purpose resolued to do the contrarie.'

The letter concludes with a petition to the Council to summon before it for examination and correction 'the said Plaiers and the Constable, as also the partie in whose house the Enterludes were plaied'. Among the signatories in addition to the Vice-Chancellor, were Thomas Legge, Master of Gonville and Caius, the author of *Richardus Tertius*, and Thomas Preston, Master of Trinity Hall, the author of *Cambyses*. This is significant of the attitude of the University dramatists on the law towards the popular stage.

The letter was sent to the Chancellor of the University, Lord Burghley, who was at the time at Oxford in attendance on the Queen, with a covering missive addressed to him personally, which contained some additional details. 'One Dutton' was stated to be 'A principale'. This was either Lawrence or John Dutton, both of whom were members of the Queen's company at the time. It was also indicated that

the contumacy of the players was prompted by powerful local patronage:

'One of the Constables toulde vs that he heard the Players saye that they were licensed by the Lo: Northe to playe in Chesterton. Wee cānot chardge his Lo:^{p} otherwise wth that pticuler. But wee are able to iustify that the Lo: Northe vpon like occasion heretofore, beinge made acquainted wth the said Lres of the LL:^{s} of the Cownsell retorned aunswere in writinge that those lres weare no perpetuity: And likewise also in this very accon when the Players came to him for his Lo:^{ps} allowunce for theire playeinge in Chesterton, and some of vs did then tell his Lo:^{p} that wee had the LL:^{s} of the Cownsells lres to the contrary, he openly vttered in the heareinge as well of the Players as of diu'se Knightes and Gentlemen of the Shier then present, that the date of those lres was almost expired, And he said then further to the Players, that althoughe they should playe at Chesterton, yet the vicechuncello^{r} durst not comitt them therefore.'

Roger, Lord North of Kirtling, here mentioned, was High Steward of the town of Cambridge, and had already been embroiled on various occasions with the University authorities. In 1580 he had, together with the Recorder, questioned the legality of the Vice-Chancellor's action in committing a townsman to prison. In 1591 the attempt of the Vice-Chancellor's agents to arrest one of his retainers, Richard Parish, had caused an affray, which resulted in lengthy proceedings before the Privy Council. Burghley may have been unwilling to interfere in a further quarrel between the University and the High Steward, or he may have hesitated to proceed against a company of which the Queen was patron. He evidently took no action, for almost a year later, on July 17, 1593, Legge, who had succeeded Some as Vice-Chancellor, wrote to renew the petition, and with better result. For on July 29 the Council renewed the ordinance of 1575, to the effect—

'that no plaies or interludes of common plaiers be used or sette forthe either in the University or in any place within the compasse of five miles, and especiallie in the towne of Chesterton, beinge a village on the waterside, nor any shewes of unlawfull games that are forbidden by the statutes of this realme.[1]

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxiv. 427–9.

This letter of the Council was sent also, with the reference to Chesterton omitted, to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, where the University authorities had likewise shown themselves hostile to performances by touring companies, though apparently they had begun to take action at a later date and less spontaneously than at Cambridge. In July, 1584, 'the Queens Majesty upon information of certain great disorders in the University complained much, and sharply dealt with the Chancellor of the University for the reformation of them.' Leicester, thereupon, on July 19, sent a letter, which was read in Convocation on the 24th, insisting that the abuses complained of should be at once remedied. Various statutes were passed by Convocation, including one dealing with attendance at plays publicly performed:

'Uppon consideration of sickness wherewith this Universitye of late hath oftentimes been greviously visited by reason of the extraordinary concourse of people at unsesonable times of the year to see stage playse and games, it hath been thought a matter most convenient as well for the maintaining of health among us as also for the detaining of the younger sort from extraordinary spending, more than their small Exhibitions will beare, and most of all that they may not be spectatours of so many lewde and evill sports as in them are practised, that no common Stage Players be permitted to use or doe any such thinge within the precincts of the Universitie.'

As at Cambridge, the University was liable to be checkmated by the civic authorities, hence the statute continued:

'And if it happen by extraordinary meanes that Stage Players shall gett or obtaine leave by the Maior or other wayse, yet it shall not be lawfull for any Master Bachiler or Scholler above the age of eighteene to repaire or go to see any such thing under paine of imprisonment. And if any under the age of eighteene shall presume to do any thing contrarye to this Statute, the partye so offending shall suffer open punishment in St. Maries church according to the discretion of the Vicechancellor or Proctors.'

The Oxford City records prove that, in spite of the statute, 'Stage Players' did continue to 'obtaine leave by the Maior' to perform within the precincts of the university town. Payments of sums varying from 20 shillings to 6 shillings and 8*d.*

are entered in the accounts to the Queen's players in 1585/6, to the Lord Admiral's players in 1586/7, to the Earl of Leicester's players in 1587/8, and the Queen's players in 1588/9. Both the Queen's and the Lord Admiral's companies visited the town in 1589/90 and 1590/1, and the Queen's and Lord Strange's men in 1592/3.[1]

The University authorities, finding themselves unable to keep the travelling companies out of Oxford, fell back upon the plan of paying them a sort of theatrical 'Danegelt' to induce them to go away. Thus, from 1587/8 onwards, the Vice-Chancellor's accounts include items like the following, of which the first, by a curious irony, concerns the Chancellor's own Company.

1587/8. Solut. histrionibus Comitis Lecestriae vt cum suis ludis sine maiore Academiae molestia discederent xx[s]
1588/9. Solut. Histrionibus ne ludos inhonestos exercerent infra Vniuersitatem. [s 2]
1589/90. Solut. Histrionibus Regine vt sine molestia ab Academia disce[de]rent . . . . . xx[s]
1590/1. Solutum per D. Eedes Vicecan[ii] locum tenentem quibusdam histrionibus vt sine perturbatione et strepitu ab Academia discederent . . . . . x[s]
1591/2. Solutum histrionibus quibusdam vt sine strepitu et molestia ab Academia discederent . . . x[s]

Similar payments were made to 'diuersorum nobilium histriones' in 1592/3. In the summer of the latter year matters came to a crisis. 'In the month of July and August hapned such a violent Plague in Oxford, that the University, assembling in Convocation, was forced to prorogue the beginning of Michaelmas-Term to the time of All-Saints. . . . Upon examination of the matter by our Physicians, it was found, that it sprung chiefly from the multitude of the people that came to Oxford about the Act time to see certain Plays and Interludes brought from London.'[3] Representations were thereupon made to the Privy Council, with the result that, as has been

[1] I have given somewhat fuller details, taken from the audited accounts in the Oxford municipal archives, in an article, 'Hamlet at Oxford,' in *The Fortnightly Review* for August, 1913.
[2] Figure erased in the account-roll.
[3] Wood, *Annals*, ii. 254.

seen, the Order of July 29, 1593 was made applicable to Oxford as well as to Cambridge.

While the two Universities thus presented a united front against the invasion of their precincts by professional companies, each was internally divided by a domestic controversy on the legitimacy of amateur performances by its own members. The impulses under which the academic drama had so rapidly developed had lost nothing of their strength, and there is no doubt that the great majority at both Universities were enthusiastic supporters of the College stages. It will be remembered that when Leicester, as Chancellor of Oxford, approved in July 1584, the statute against 'common Stage Players', he expressly declared that he did not mean thereby 'that the Tragedies, Comodies' and ther 'shews . . . set forth by Universitye men should be forbedden', but 'as commendable and great furderances of Learning' they should 'be continued at set times and increased'.[1] His attitude was representative of official academic opinion. But with the growth of Puritanism there arose a party in both Universities eager to extend the ban upon professional performances to acting in any form, and to proscribe even the edifying plays which had been approved by Martin Bucer.[2] As early as February 4, 1565, Richard Beaumont, Master of Trinity College, and Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, reported to Archbishop Parker that 'ii or iii in Trinity College thinke it very unseeming that Christians sholde play or be present at any prophane comoedies or tragoedies'.[3] The Puritan hostility to performances by scholars was intensified by the fact that they were frequently given on Sunday. The doctrine of Sabbath-breaking received an extended interpretation from John Smith, a Cambridge Master of Arts, who in a sermon preached on Ash Wednesday 1585/6 declared that the plays on Saturday and Sunday were breaches of the Christian Sabbath. 'On Sunday, for they were at it before the sun was set; on Saturday, for disabling of their bodies for the Sabbath duties.' For the views expressed in

[1] See *supra*, p. 192.
[2] See *supra*, pp. 65–7.
[3] Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 213; Parker, *Correspondence*, 226.

this sermon he was cited, on February 21, before Dr. Perne, deputy Vice-Chancellor, and the Heads of Colleges, and again on the 27th before the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Tyndal, at Queens' College. He was interrogated as to his views of the Sabbath and its observance, and undertook to explain them more fully in another sermon, of which, however, no account has been preserved. A little later in the same year, John Case, who has been mentioned as one of Gager's friends,[1] published his *Speculum Moralium Quaestionum in Vniversam Ethicen Aristotelis*. The book, which was printed at Oxford, contained a dedication to Leicester, dated 'Nonis Martij, Anno 1585'. In Book IV, chap. 8, 183–4, he discusses the virtue of 'Comitas', and raises the question:

'An ludi Scenici sint liciti, & sub hac virtutis materia contenti?'

His answer is in conformity with the distinction drawn in Leicester's letter to Convocation:

'Ludi Scenici sunt vel Communes & populares, qui ad scurrilitatem potiùs quam comitatem referuntur... Academici quales sunt comoediae ac tragoediae recreationis honestae causâ institutae, & hae sunt licitae.'

He then enumerates the considerations that make academic plays 'lawful'—all of them of a utilitarian or edifying character:

'Propter memoriam antiquorum temporum, quam ad viuum representant.
'Propter multiplicem scientiam rerum, quam in se comprehendunt.
'Propter magnam experientiam, qua nos exornant.
'Propter vim vocis, gestus, & affectus quam optimè depingunt.
'Propter delectabilem affabilitatis & comitatis vsum, quem graphicè ante oculos proponunt.'

Finally, after the fashion of a scholastic disputation, he states the arguments against academic performances, and the answers to these arguments. The first objection is to the unseemliness of acting generally, and especially to the appearance of men in the dress of women of ill fame.

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 177 n.

Opp.

'Quod est indecorum, virtutis opus non est: sed in ludo scenico est aliquid indecorum, ergo virtutis opus non est. Minor probatur, quia est non solùm indecorum, sed instar monstri, vt vir meretricis habitu ornatus in theatrum prodeat.'

Resp.

'Non est indecorum, si eò fiat vt vitia meretricis depingantur: non est enim monstrum vestes sed mores meretricis induere.'

The second objection is the condemnation of plays by the Fathers of the Church:

Opp.

'Priscae aetatis patres acerbiùs contra istos ludos disputârunt: ergo non sunt liciti.'

Resp.

'Simpliciter contra omnes non disputârunt sed contra illos qui in honorem Idolorum celebrati fuerunt. alij respondent illos contra excessum non contra vsum ludorum disputâsse.'

The third objection is the opportunity that plays afford to men of low estate of bringing the emblems of royalty into derision:

Opp.

'Iniuriosum nec non contumeliosum est regibus, vt sutores ac infimae conditionis homines illorum purpurâ sceptro ac diademate in ludis scenicis ridiculè abuterentur: ergo decorum in illis non est.'

Resp.

'Ridiculum est quod obijcitur. Nam praeterquam quòd hîc non agitur de sutoribus, sed de viris liberaliter educatis & Academicis, hoc responderi potest, minùs esse indecorum regem in theatro agere quàm regē in tabula depingere: sed hoc licet, cur ergo illud non placet? Insuper vt in tabula cognoscitur vmbra regis delineari non in contemptum dignitatis: ita in Theatro intelligitur expressa imago regis proponi, sine iniuria et contumelia imperatoriae maiestatis.'

This abstract of the arguments for and against academic performances serves as a prelude to the prolonged pamphleteering duel on the subject which took place some half-dozen years later between John Rainolds and Gager.

To a historian of the University stage it is a source of satisfaction that its foremost assailant should have been one of the

ablest and most learned controversialists of the day, a Puritan leader, whose intellectual eminence and piety were recognized by men of all parties. In the hands of John Rainolds the case against academic plays was presented in its most powerful form, with fervent conviction and dialectical skill. When we have read his letters and pamphlets, we feel that we know the worst that opponents of acting at Oxford or Cambridge could urge.

John Rainolds was born at Pinhoe, near Exeter, in 1549. He was elected a Scholar of Corpus Christi College on April 29, 1563, and became a probationary Fellow in October 1566, and a full Fellow two years later. On October 15, 1568, he proceeded B.A., and in 1572/3 was appointed Greek Reader in the College. It was in this office that, according to Wood, he first made his fame. 'He was most prodigiously seen in all kind of learning, and had turn'd over all writers profane, ecclesiastical, and divine, all councils, fathers, and histories of the Church. He was also most excellent in all tongues, of a sharp and nimble wit, of mature judgment, indefatigable industry.'[1] Twelve of his Orations, delivered at Corpus 1573–76, were published after his death, in 1614,[2] and republished in 1619 and 1628. In July 1586 he was appointed to a lectureship founded by Sir Francis Walsingham for the confutation of Papal doctrines.

Later in this year he resigned his Fellowship at Corpus, and migrated to Queen's College, where he remained till his appointment to the Deanery of Lincoln in December 1593. But he was anxious to return to Oxford, and in December 1598 he exchanged offices with William Cole, President of Corpus, whose unpopularity in the College forced him to seek ecclesiastical preferment. Rainolds proved to be a very efficient Head, and was not tempted to resign his presidency by the offer of a bishopric. On the accession of James, however, he took the leading part on the Puritan side in the Hampton Court Conference, January 1604. The translation of the Bible, which was the permanent fruit of the Conference, was a work for which he had pre-eminent qualifications. He

[1] *Athenae*, ii. 14.

[2] Two of them had already been published separately in 1587.

was one of the six Oxford representatives appointed to translate the Old Testament Prophets. The translators met once a week at his lodgings, 'and there as 'tis said perfected the work, notwithstanding the said Doctor, who had the chief hand in it', was suffering from a fatal illness, which ended on May 21, 1607. Funeral sermons by the Vice-Chancellor, the Public Orator, and one of the Fellows of Corpus, testified to the reverence in which he was held throughout the University. They have an echo in Wood's final panegyric on him as 'one of so prodigious a memory that he might have been called a walking library; of so virtuous and holy life and conversation (as writers say) that he very well deserved to be red-lettered; so eminent and conspicuous . . . it might be said of him, to name Raynolds is to commend virtue itself'.[1]

It is not necessary to speak here of his numerous exegetical and polemical works, in Latin and the vernacular, or of his sermons, many of which were printed posthumously. His Orations as Greek Reader prove amply that in him Puritanism did not conflict with humanism. His *Oratio in laudem artis poeticae* is an eloquent plea for poetry as the first of the arts that is not unworthy to be set beside Sidney's *Apologie*:

'O inexplicabilem poeticae facultatem! O nunquam satis laudatam potentiam! O sempiternis artem monumentis decorandam! Haec, haec nimirùm est illa Suada, quae molles ad pericula, socordes ad praelia, timidos ad mortem animosè oppetendam concitat . . . Altiora quàm ingenium valeat complecti, meliora quàm impietas debeat optare, maiora quàm infirmitas audeat, miseris mortalibus haec eadem pollicetur.'

In other Orations he illustrates freely from the whole range of classical authors, including not only poets, philosophers, and historians, but the Greek tragic dramatists, Aristophanes, Plautus, Terence, and Seneca. The two last named are amongst the writers whom he most frequently quotes.

Not only, however, was Rainolds familiar with classical drama in all its types. He had himself, as has been seen,[2] acted in 1566, when he was about seventeen years of age, in Richard Edwardes's *Palamon and Arcyte* before the Queen. He acknowledges, when inveighing in 1593 against per-

[1] *Annals*, ii. 293.

[2] See *supra*, p. 106.

formances at Christ Church, that 'six and twentie yeares since' he 'did play a womans parte vpon the same stage, the part of *Hippolyta*'.[1] And he knew at least enough about the London professional stage to be aware that in 1593 'the *Curtaine* and *Theater*' were the leading play-houses and attracted large audiences.[2]

But in early manhood he must have adopted Puritan antagonism to acting in its extreme form. In the preface, dated February 2, 1580/1, to his *Sex Theses de Sacra Scriptura et Ecclesia*, he exhorted the University to revive the spirit of learning assailed by so many enemies, amongst which he enumerates 'ludos illiberales, symposia intēpestiua, pestes scenicorū, theatralia spectacula'.

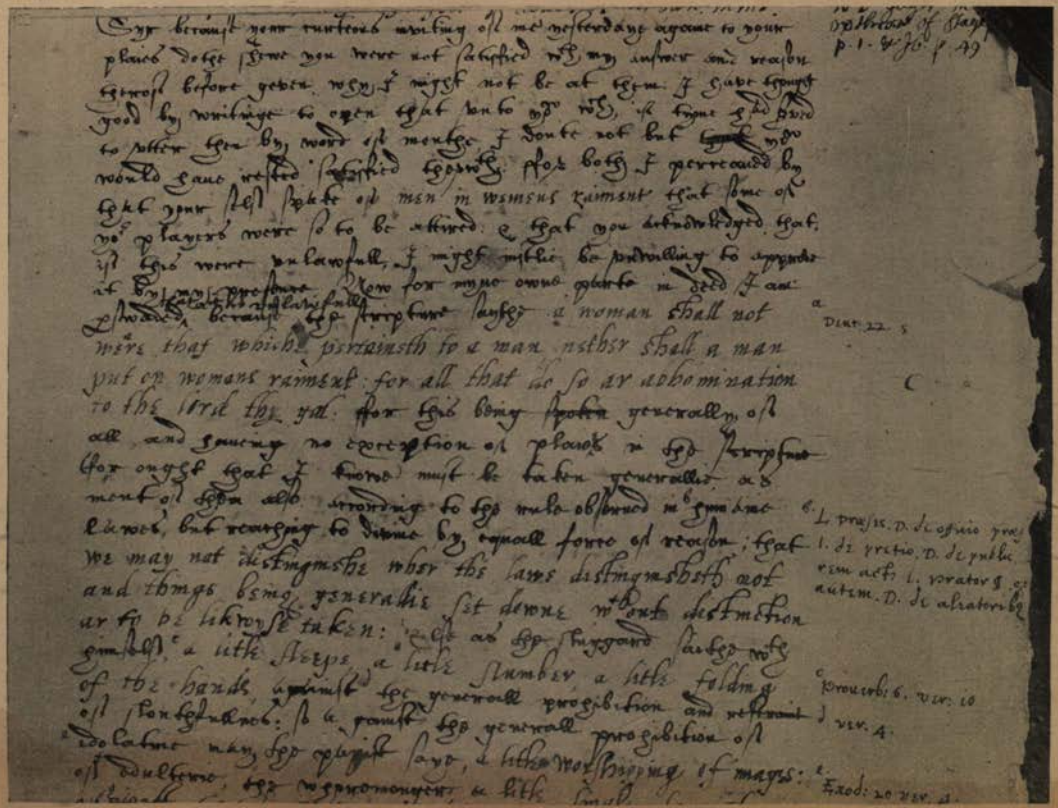
It is therefore surprising that Dr. Thomas Thornton, a member of Christ Church,[3] should have invited Rainolds to the Shrove-tide performances beginning with *Vlysses Redux* on Sunday, February 5, 1591/2, and should even have pressed him to come after a first verbal refusal. Rainolds thereupon wrote a letter to him on February 6, giving in full his reasons for staying away.[4] His first objection was to the appearance on the stage of 'men in wemens raiment', which he held to be condemned by Scripture, and by theologians, including Calvin, 'as sounde and learned an interpreter of the scriptures as anie synce the apostles times in my opinion'. He also disapproved, especially in plays 'set forth, with such preparation and charge, as yours are', of 'sundrie circumstances, some in the matter, some in the form', which had caused plays and players to be banned not only by 'godlie fathers', but by 'whole commonweales of heathens'. Above all, he objected to Sunday performances as 'most offensive in the eyes of the faithfull who call for the sanctifieinge of the Sabbath'.

Thornton did not show Gager this letter, but merely told

[1] *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes*, 45. [2] *op. cit.*, 151.

[3] He also had acted before Elizabeth in 1566. Cf. p. 391.

[4] This letter is preserved in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS. 352, ff. 11-14. The MS. also contains the autograph copies of Rainolds's letter to Gager, July 10, 1591/2; Gager's answer, July 31, 1592; Rainolds's second letter, May 30, 1593; and eight letters between Albericus Gentilis and Rainolds, from July 7, 1593, to March 12, 1593/4. The two letters from Rainolds to Gager and part of the correspondence with Gentilis are printed in *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes*. See further *infra*, pp. 244-6.



BEGINNING OF DR. J. RAINOLDS'S LETTER, 5 FEB., 1591/2, TO DR. T. THORNTON, DECLINING AN INVITATION TO THE CHRIST CHURCH PLAYS

him later that Rainolds, on being invited to see the plays, had 'most gently answered that' he 'never vsed to cūm to suche thinges, and therfor nowe would also abstayne

It happened, however, that at the close of the series of performances Gager brought on the stage the figure of *Momus*, 'a carper, and a pincher at all thinges that are done with any opinion of well dooinge.' Momus, in addition to severe strictures on *Riuales*, *Vlysses*, and the additions to *Hippolytus*, attacked acting and plays in general:

> Egregia verò laus, & ingenium decens
> Agere histrionem lege famosum optimâ.
> Quid habet modestum scena, quid non impudens?
> Scurrilitatis ludus, ac lasciuiae,
> Ioci officina turpis, ac petulans schola.
> Quis saltat, aut quis prodit in scenam probus?
> Praeclara res est Mimus, & gestum assequi
> Simulare, vultum, ac verba, testari Deos,
> Et sub puellâ tegere iuuenem puberem?
> . . . . . .
> Huc tantus iste sumptus, in pauperculos
> Magis elocandus redijt: huc horae bonae
> Malé collocatae; gestui huc tempus datum?

Afterwards, in an *Epilogus Responsiuus* the criticisms of Momus were answered, and he himself held up to contumely.

This singular 'devyse of Momus' was 'conceyved and penned longe before' Rainolds wrote to Thornton, and was shown to the latter a month beforehand. It was merely intended as 'a iest to serve a turn':

> 'my meaninge only was, if I had any meaninge or purpose at all, partely to move delight in the audytorye, with the noveltie of the invention and the person, beinge nowe foreweryed and tyred with the tediusnes of the Tragedye: partely to obiect thos thinges agaynst owre selves by owre selves, which might abate all suspition of any littell vayne glory or self pleasinge in vs, when thay should vnderstand that owre dooinges displeased no man more then owre owne selves.'

But as some of Momus's objections to plays were identical with those urged by Rainolds in his letter to Thornton, the Queen's College Doctor took grave umbrage at the 'devyse', which he thought was intended to reflect upon himself. He evidently protested to Gager, and a correspondence ensued of

which the earlier part has been lost. In support of Rainolds, a young Fellow of Queen's College, who shared his colleague's Puritan views, preached a sermon on the text in Deut. xxii. 5, which forbade men to wear women's raiment, and pointed the application to the recent performances at Christ Church. Though Gager admits him 'to be a good man, a good scholar, and a good preacher', he resented this unprovoked intervention:

'if not in respecte of me, never offendinge him in worde or deed, vpon whome all the audyence knewe his sharp reprehension cheefely lighted; yet in respecte of owre whole house, . . . me thinkes he might, and should have done well, to have spared so greevus a speeche, vttered so publickly, which if it shoulde come to dwe tryall, he coulde not iustifye.'

It may have been the ferment thus created that led Gager for the first time to publish one of his plays. *Vlysses Redux* appeared in May, with *Momus* and with the *Epilogus Responsiuus* in enlarged form, and a presentation copy was sent to Rainolds. Far from pacifying him, it provoked his letter, dated July 10, which forms the first section of *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes*. In this he endorsed and amplified the objections to plays put into the mouth of Momus by Gager—the condemnation of actors by the civil law, the antiscriptural assumption by man of feminine attire, the waste of hours that might have been better employed. 'It may bee', he urges, 'there was even some time that should have been spent in hearing Sermons the very day that your *Vlysses Redux* came on the stage.' Furthermore, while admitting that recreation is necessary for 'schollers that are schollers indeed', he widens his attack, and classes acting with such undesirable forms of amusement as 'to play at Mum-chance or Maw with idle loose companions, or at trunkes in Guile-houses, or to dance about Maypoles, or to rifle in ale-houses, or to carouse in taverns, or to steale deere or rob orchards'. Moreover, the performances, he complains, cause needless extravagance. 'The charge of setting forth such plaies is mony cast away, and addeth wastfulnesse to wantonness.' He asserts that Gager was not justified in claiming, in the answer to *Momus*, that the University approved of the performances, and he closes

with the rather malicious suggestion that it was only by pressure that he could muster a full audience—'I understand that certain who came thither, came even prest to it by great importunitie.'

Such a letter could not but put the Christ Church dramatist on his mettle, and on July 31st he sent a reply to it which, though in epistolary form, is in effect a pamphlet on behalf of academic plays and players. After reiterating that he had never intended to attack Rainolds in the person of Momus, Gager proceeds to answer his allegation that the students, by taking part in plays, incurred the slur of *infamia* placed upon actors by Roman law. Gager argues that the leading actors in Rome were not considered 'infamous', and that, in any case, a sharp distinction must be drawn between professionals and amateurs:

'I denye that we are to be termed *Scenici* or *Histriones*, for cũminge on the Stage once in a yeere, or twoe yeere, sevne, ten, or somtyme twentye yeeres. As he is not a wrastler, that sometyme to prove his strencthe, tryethe for a fall or two; nor he a fencer, that sometyme takethe vp the cudgells, to play a vennye: nor he a danser that sometyme leadethe the measures or danseth a galliarde; nor he a minstrell or a ffidler that sometyme playethe on an instrument before manye; as I have often seene all thes doone by gentyllmen, withowte the leste suspition of discreditt or dishonestye. and yet, if a man shoulde doe thes thinges vsually and in evry place, I thinke he might be noted to be a wrastler, a ffencer, a danser, and a ffidler.'

He protests further that the Oxford scholars differ entirely from the ancient professional actors in the 'ende and effectes of Playinge:

'they came vpon the stage . . . of a lewd, vast, dissolute, wicked, impudent, prodigall, monstrous humor, wherof no dowte ensued greate corruption of manners in them selves, to say nothinge heere of the behowlders. We contrarywise doe it to recreate owre selves, owre House, and the better parte of the *Vniversitye*, with some learned *Poëme* or other; to practyse owre owne style eyther in prose or verse; to be well acquantyed with *Seneca* or *Plautus*; honestly to embolden owre pathe; to trye their voyces and confirme their memoryes; to frame their speeche; to conforme them to convenient

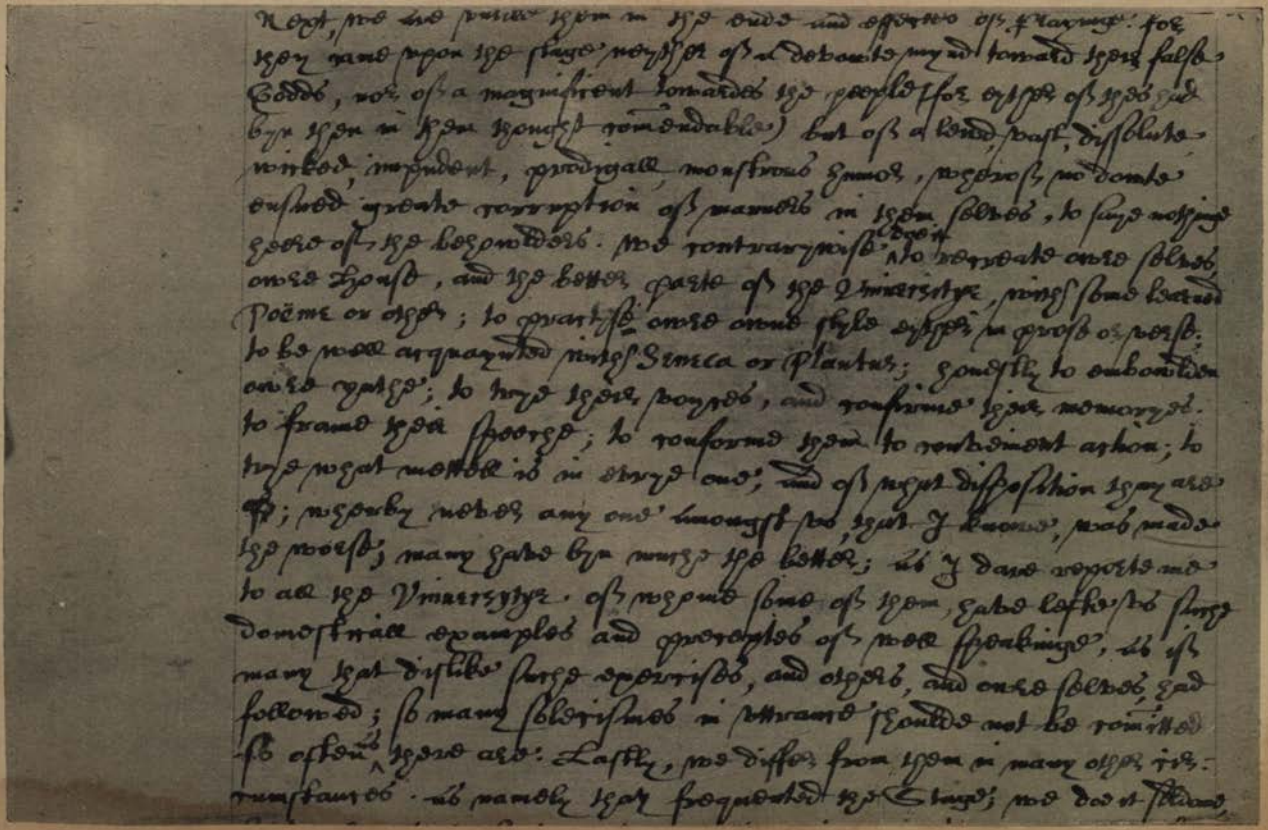
action; to trye what mettell is in evrye one, and of what disposition thay are of; wherby never any one amongst vs, that I knowe was made the worse, many have byn muche the better; as I dare reporte me to all the *Vniversitye.* of whom some of them have lefte vs suche domesticall examples and preceptes of well speakinge, as if many that dislike such exercises, and others, and owre selves had followed; so many solecismes in vttrance shoulde not be cõmitted so often as there are.'[1]

These words deserve to become a *locus classicus* on the objects of the academic drama, and they are followed by another protest against the suggestion that 'Schollers and the Students of Christchurche are to be noted with a marke of infamye for playinge, thoughe gratis, such partes as thay did in *Vlysse Reduce'*. Gager especially repudiates any comparison between the Emperor Nero 'for singinge like a fidler on the stage', and the Master 'of owre Choristers' for playing the part of the minstrel Phemius. With a touch of humorous fancy not unworthy of Sidney himself, he declares that the Master of the Choristers aforesaid for 'his honesty, modesty, and good voyce is as wurthy to be delyvered from infamye, as Phemius hym selfe is fayned to be saved from deathe, for his excellent skill in Musicke'.

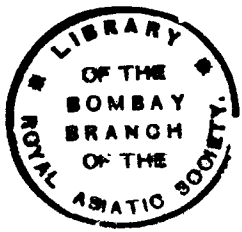
In the next section of his letter Gager deals with Rainolds's objection to the scholars having to appear in women's dress. He at once allows that men and women may not indifferently 'weare eche others apparell', but he maintains that it is unfair to speak of the scholars as 'wearing' women's dress. 'Wearinge implyes a custome, and a cõmon vse of so dooinge, whereas we doe it for an howre or twoe, or three, to represent an others person, by one that is openly knowne to be as he is in deede.' He urges, moreover, in a forcible passage that it depends upon various conditions whether any particular form of dress is to be considered reprehensible or otherwise:

'no apparell simply defylethe the body, though the manner of wearinge it may. the manner consistethe in the circum-

[1] Gager adds: 'we differ from them in many other circumstances, as namely, they frequented the Stage; we does it seldome, somtyme not in seavne, ten, or twentye yeers.' The context shows that this refers not to the intervals at which plays were produced at Christ Church, but at which individual members of the House acted. If the statement is to be taken as accurate, the practice at Oxford differed from that at Cambridge.



PART OF DR. W. GAGER'S LETTER, 31 JULY, 1592, TO DR. RAINOLDS, STATING THE OBJECTS AND RESULTS OF ACADEMIC ACTING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staunces of person, tyme, place, stuffe, fasshion, and suche like; which are of that force, that thay make the selfe same actions, in the selfe same man, good and evill. as for a Preacher at servyce tyme, in his Churche. to walke vp and downe in his dublet and hose, with a coloured hatt on his head, and a brooche in it, weare a greate folly, thoughe he were never so godly; and yet at home in his secrett chamber, he might withoute offence doe all thes thinges. in like sorte for a boye to pray in the Churche openly, with a caule, or a frenchehood on his head . . . it weare a greate fault; but it followethe not that therfor it is so, for a boy or a yonge man to come on the Stage with a cawle or a frenchehood on his head.'

So far, indeed, he adds, were the scholars uninfluenced in their behaviour by wearing feminine attire that 'when one of owre actors should have made a conge like a woman, he made a legg like a man'.

But Gager is not content with claiming that the performances are harmless. He carries the war into the enemy's camp by asserting that they have a directly beneficial influence:

'Neyther doe I see what evill affections could be stirred up by owre playes, but rather good, for in *Vlysse Reduce*, whoe did not love the fidelyte of *Eumaeus* and *Philoetius* towardes their Master; and hate the contrary in *Melanthius*? whoe was not moved to compassion to see *Vlysses* a greate Lorde dryvne so hardly as that he was fayne too be a begger in his owne house? whoe did not wisshe hym well, and all ill to the wooers, and thinke them worthely slayne, for their bluddye purpose agaynst *Telemachus* and other dissolute behaviour, not so muche expressed on the Stage as imagined to be done within? whoe did not admyre the constancye of *Penelope*, and disprayse the lytenes, and bad nature in *Melantho*, and thinke her justly hanged for it? whoe did not prayse the patience, wisdome and secrecye of *Vlysses* and *Telemachus* his sonne? lastly whoe was not glad to see *Vlysses* restored to his wife and his goods, and his mortall enemyes overthrowne and punished?'

In similar vein he contends that spectators at the performance of *Riuales* would be deterred from drunkenness 'by seeinge the deformytye of drunken actions represented', while his additions to the *Hippolytus* would serve as incitements to purity of life. This is exactly the line of argument taken up by Sidney in an important section of his *Apologie for Poetrie*,

and it is based upon the fallacious theory that the Drama and other forms of imaginative art are to be gauged not by their power of purifying the emotions, of effecting the Aristotelian *κάθαρσις*, but by the quantum of moral teaching that they directly convey. Gager is on far safer ground when he indignantly protests against the classification of the Christ Church performances, in the passage of Rainolds's letter already quoted, with 'Mum-chance or Maw' or still less seemly pursuits. Nowhere throughout the treatise are there to be found more moving and memorable words than here:

'I say to compare owre Playes to no better than thes thinges, it exceedethe the cumpasse of any tolerable resemblance. I cowlde have wisht that suche comparisons had byn forborne, if not for the Playes them selves (thoughe also thay ought for the Playes them selves, beinge thinges that savor of some witt, learninge, and iudgment, approved vnto vs by long continuance, recomẽnded by owre cheefest governors, and donne in a learned, grave, worshipfull, and sometyme honorable presence, with suche convenient sollemnytye, honest preparation, ingenuous expectation, due regarde, modest reverence, silent attention, and the generall, as it weare, simẽtrye and seemly carriage in them) yet in respecte of the actors, and owre whole House; of the spectators that sawe them, and hartely approved them, to whome it weare a foule shame, but to stand by as lookers on of thinges of suche nature; and lastly, of thos reverend, famous and excellent men, for life and learninge and their places in the Churche of God bothe of owre house, and otherwise of the *Vniversitye*, that have byn, and nowe are lyvinge with vs, and abrode, whoe have byn not only wryters of suche thinges them selves, but also actors, and to this daye doe thinke well of them, to whome it weare a greate reproche at any tyme to have byn acquaynted with thinges of so vyle, and base qualytye, and muche more still to allowe of them.'[1]

He protests too, incidentally, against Rainolds' inclusion of dancing among unfit recreations. 'For myn own parte', he frankly admits, 'I never dansed, nor ever coulde, and yet I can not denye, but I love to see honest dansynge.' Then, after referring to Homer, 'an excellent observer of decorũ in all thinges,' and to the 'learned knight Sir Thomas Eliote', as both favourable to the pastime, he continues:

[1] Gager's words here are fully confirmed by the list of Oxford actors before the Queen in Appendix V.

'I thinke . . . dansinge may be most honestly vsed of the meaner sorte, and most honorablye of the greatest. as I have often seene it donne, me thought, with that honor, regarde, reverence, modesty, cumlynes, and honest delyte, the number of the footinge marvyluslye well expressinge, answeringe and as it weare actinge the measure and meaninge of the Musick, together with the healthe and activytye of bodye followinge thereof; that I see no cause in reason, charytye, or christian libertye, why dansinge shoulde simply be condemned; thoughe also I doe not thinke it a meete recreation for schollers, comonly to be vsed.'

To the objection that performances on Sundays prevented the scholars from attending sermons, Gager retorts that this accusation 'touchethe my poor unfortunate *Vlysses* only, not the other twoe', *Hippolytus* and *Riuales*, which were acted on week-days. But even in the case of the incriminated tragedy, his withers are unwrung, for its performance did not interfere with the religious duties of those who took part in it. 'Sure I ame, that the gentleman that played *Vlysses* was at Sermon, and divers others of the actors, as if neede were thay coulde prove, perhapps the rather, to avoyde suche a scandall. if any were away, thay might have other cause so to doe, thoughe (the more the pittye) it is no vnvsuall thinge for many other students, as well as owres, sometyme to mysse a sermon, and it may be, that some of them that mysliked owre Playes, weare not there them selves.'

As for the accusation that money was wasted on the performances, and that the Christ Church authorities were no better than the Prodigal Son, Gager's answer is to show that there is no comparison between the two cases:

'what simylitude is there, or can there be, betweene hym that in suche a sorte, as he did, spent all, and brought hym selfe to the extremest myserye, and betweene owre expence? . . . the mony bestowde on owre Playes, was not, to add wastfullnes to wantonnes, but to procure honest recreation, with convenient expence. surely if the Prodigall sonne, had byn as moderatt, and as thriftye in his spendinge at his boorde, as we weare in owre Playes, he might well inoughe have sayde, to any niggarde, that shoulde have vnwisely fownde falte with hym, as muche as you make hym to saye, not with the note of a prodigall, but with the comendation of an ingenuous and a liberall disposition.'

Rainolds's other comparison of the Christ Church expenditure on plays with Nero's lavish theatrical donations is equally, Gager urges, beside the point. What is the harm in 'owre Howse' spending thus 'ons in many yeers thirtye powndes'? It is churlish to 'condemne all expence, as cast awaye, that is sometyme moderattly bestowed upon honest sportes and pastymes, and not upon the poore. A man may feast, and yet remember the affliction of Joseph toe; and monye may be spent on Playes, evne thirtye powndes, and yett the poore releeved, and no man the lesse liberall for them, or the more, if they had not byn at all.'

Gager finally repudiates the assertion that it was necessary to use entreaties to get people to come to them:

'for my selfe, I may trulye saye, that I never requested any man to owre Playes; neyther did I neede: thay woulde cõme without biddinge, or sendinge for, more and faster than sometyme we would willingely thay shoulde have donne; much lesse needed thay to be pressed to them with greate importunitye.'

This statement is supported not only by the records of the crowds that flocked to Christ Church on similar occasions, but by the indignant exclamations that Gager himself had put into the mouth of *Momus*:

> Huc ianitorum sudor, aditusque obsiti,
> Fractae fenestrae, clamor, expectatio,
> Strepitusque tantus?

Having dealt with Rainolds's various objections, Gager claims that he was justified in asserting that the academic body was favourable to the performances:

'I have not done the *Vniversitye* wronge, in producinge the iudgment thereof, to the approvinge of owre Playes, for thoughe, as you wryte, there *weare some which weare not present, because thay disallowed them, some disallowed them, that weare present*; yet, both thes putt together, if the greater parte may denomynate the whole, which did with their hartye applause approve them, I might withowte wronge, I am sure, to the bodye of the *Vniversytye*, demaund of *Momus: Academiae tu iudicia nihili facis?*'

Rainolds had alleged that 'a graue learned man' who was present, a friend of both parties (probably Thornton), had

expressed to him 'his dislike of the representation of amourousnes and drunkennes, in *Riuales* both; the former not in *Riuales* onely'. Gager frankly admits this friend's disapproval of one episode, but protests against this being interpreted as opposition to the plays generally:

'I knowe howe farr he did sumwhat dislike some cõicall action, in my heeringe, which is not heere to be repeated, but I ame sure, that both before, and after, he muche cõended them to me, and furthred them with his advyse, purse, and paynes.'

The reference to the friend's 'purse' is important, for it proves that, in addition to the College payments, individual members must have contributed, on occasion, to the expenses of the entertainments.

In taking his farewell of his antagonist, Gager assures him that he has been moved rather by his affection for Christ Church and its scholars than by zeal for the drama:

'thus, have I also answered your wrytinge; not so muche to patronage Playes, which I can forbeare, and thinke of them as they are (for what have I to doe with them, more than an other?) as to defende owre House, my selfe, and many honeste towardely younge men my frendes, whom for good causes I hartely love, from open infamye. wherwith it not a littell greevethe me, and them, that thay shoulde in pryvate, but muche more in publicke be charged to the generall reproche of owre House, and to the particular contumelye of dyvers in their persons. . . . your goodwill I doe and ever will most gladly embrace, and your iudgment toe, in this cause so farr, as you wryte in the generall agaynst *Histriones*; prayinge you to pardon me if, as I verely thinke, for good causes, I can not agree with you in the particular applycation against us.'

Thus here again Gager's contempt for the professional actor, and doubtless for the professional dramatist, breaks forth. Such an attitude in so able a champion of the academic plays throws a vivid light on the feeling of the scholarly and official classes of the period towards 'histriones' and those who wrote for them. It helps to explain why, within a year from the date of Gager's letter, the Privy Council should not only have banished professional actors from both Universities, but should have sent Kyd to prison and torture, and Marlowe, indirectly,

to his tavern-death. A Queen's College divine and a Student of Christ Church might have their differences of opinion, but they were both separated by an abyss from the 'vagabonds' who earned their living on the public stage.

It is in this spirit of academic comradeship that Gager concludes by asking a blessing on Rainolds's godly and learned labours, and by requesting him, if he wishes to reform him in any error, to do so in 'pryvatt conference', and not 'with any your furder replye in wrytinge'. The request was in vain, for on May 30th, 1593, after a delay caused by sickness and business, Rainolds returned to the charge with another bulky treatise, which forms the main section (pp. 29–163) of *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes.*

He gives as his reason for renewing the correspondence that:

'partlie by concealing, partly by perverting the drift & substance of my speeches, you seeke to smoother vp and suppresse the trueth. Which being done in writing by you with care and diligence, not to be imparted vnto me alone, but to others also, as your selfe doe signifie: if I should note the fault thereof by worde of mouth, my plaister would be lesse a great deale then the wound, and therefore neuer reach to heale it; for woordes haue wings, and flie away, mens writings doe remaine.'

The note of invective on which the letter thus begins continues throughout, becoming increasingly shriller and fiercer. In contrast with the studiously courteous tone of Gager's letter, Rainolds does not hesitate to charge his opponent with wilful falsehood:

'In deede, Maister D. *Gager,* you are much to blame, who, to shew that you can obscure a most cleere truth with pretense of lawe, and a distinction of *some sense*, doe hazard the ship-wracke of a good conscience, and wastfully employ your witt and time both, in bolstering out of by writing that which your selfe see and knowe to bee vntrue.'

Apart from denunciation, the pamphlet consists mainly of minute verbal dissection of Gager's letter, and it thus does little to widen the range of the discussion, or to throw additional light on academic stage-history. Rainolds was, of course, a skilled dialectician, and in the long-drawn

argument he scores occasional points. He shows that Gager had given a more personal application to some of the phrases in his first letter than had been intended. He pushes home the attack against the Christ Church dramatist at the weakest point in his defensive armour—his plea that the performances were morally beneficial. He had no difficulty in showing that evil results might follow, when impressionable youths enacted scenes of drunkenness, amorousness, and vice. In illustration, he referred at length to the additions to *Hippolytus*, with the parts of Pandarus and Nais, which had been published in the *Meleager* volume since his earlier letter was written. He also, in one of the most interesting parts of his pamphlet, set forth the difficulty which Renaissance educationalists, not only among professors of purer religion, but even among the Papists, such as Vives and Loiola, had in using the Roman comic dramatists for purposes of reading with schoolboys or undergraduates. He himself, needless to say, would banish them from the class-room of younger students, and *à fortiori* would forbid such students to act them:

'If they should not as much as salute *Terence*, the finest Comicall Poet, for purenes of the Latin toung in *Tullies* iudgement: much lesse should they be made well acquainted with *Plautus*. . . . If they should not be suffered to peruse writings of base & filthy qualitie, nor to cast their eyes, as it were, vpon them; much lesse should they engraue them by heart in their remembrance, expresse them with voice, commend them with action, deliver them with boldnes. If they should not exercise their style, their speech, their memorie, but in honest, vertuous, and commendable matters, which in vse of life may serve them to good purpose: much lesse should they meditate how they may inflame a tender youth with love; entise him to daliance, to hoordom, to incest, iniure their mindes and bodyes to vncoomly, dissolute, railing, boasting, knavish, foolish, brainsicke, drunken conceits, woordes, and gestures.'

This paragraph may serve to show how Rainolds spoils even the strongest part of his case by violent over-statement. In spite of his humanist training, he had in full measure the besetting vice of Puritanism, of giving the most sinister interpretation to any practice of which it disapproved. Thus,

here, certain possibilities of evil in the academic stage are distorted into an actively poisonous stream of corruption.

Equally characteristic of the weaker side of Puritanism is the spirit of letter-worship in which Rainolds expounds, with even greater elaboration than before, texts from Deuteronomy and the Civil Law, and applies them rigidly to the conditions of his own day. And no less typical is his arrogant certainty of having completely confuted his adversary:

'the point of my sworde, which pearceth through the heart of your defense of playes, you striue (though in vaine, for want of strength) to draw out, and turne against my selfe.'[1] In a similar spirit is the request 'that with the next play you publish, you will set foorth my letters, and your answere to them'.

Gager, so far as we know, published no further play, nor did he prolong the controversy. But a powerful ally intervened at this point on his behalf, in the person of Albericus Gentilis, the Regius Professor of Civil Law. A refugee from his native Perugia, owing to his religious views, Gentilis had been incorporated at Oxford as a D.C.L. early in 1581, had published *De Legationibus* in 1584, and had been appointed to the Regius Professorship in June 1587. As a civilian, he had occasion to deal with the question of the legal status of actors before the controversy between Gager and Rainolds had arisen.[2] Though after 1590 he resided more in London than in Oxford, he had shown his interest in academic drama by contributing some prefatory complimentary verses in Italian to *Vlysses Redux*, when it was published in May 1592. Rainolds's violent second attack on Gager, in the May of the following year, roused Gentilis to come to the support of a friend and fellow civilian. He sent to Hanover, for publication, a commentary that he had previously written, including an appendix on the status of actors, and dedicated it to Tobie Matthew, Bishop of Durham, and formerly Dean of Christ Church, on 'vi Kal. Jul. (26 June) 1593.' On July 7, before the book could have appeared in print, he wrote to

[1] *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes*, 108.

[2] Cf. *op. cit.*, 164, letter of Gentilis to Rainolds: 'Audi mi Rainolde: quaestionem de histrionibus publicè ego tractavi antea quam tibi haec quaestio cum altero esset.'

Rainolds, informing him of what he had done, enclosing apparently a manuscript copy of the work,[1] and assuring him that it had been written before the controversy over the Christ Church plays had arisen. The commentary has a severely technical title, *Ad Tit. C. De Maleficis et Math. & ceter. similibus Commentarius · Item argumenti eiusdem Commentatio Ad L. iii. c. de professorib. & medic.* It is in the second 'tractatulus', as he calls it, that Gentilis discusses actors. He holds that they are 'infamous', but only if they perform for gain in public resorts ('in scaenam prodeant, id est in eum locum, quo passim homines spectaculi causa admittuntur').[2] Such a definition excluded University performers from the ban of the civil law:

'Vnde tu mihi notes nullam aulicos aut scholasticos labem contrahere, qui agunt aliquando fabulas apud nos, & linguae peregrinitate aliterve excludere a spectando solent plerosque omnes.'

On the hotly debated question of men assuming women's parts, he took the view that the text in Deuteronomy was to be interpreted figuratively, not literally, and that it did not refer to the mere wearing of feminine clothing, but to the perpetration of evil in this disguise.

Rainolds showed towards this new disputant the same truculent spirit as he had done to Gager. In a letter dated July 10, he requested him, in any future publication, to have 'duarum rerum maiorem rationem; pietatis & modestiae'. He asserted that Gentilis's Commentary would bring discredit on the University, as it informed the world:

'Pueros . . . in nostra Academia publicè doceri vt de rebus morum quid theologi sentiant non magnopere curent; neque vereantur mentiri quum erit commodum; immò peccare se putent, si, quum vitia prosunt, rectè faciant.'

On the 14th Gentilis replied with natural heat to this letter, in which every statement was 'longè, lateq; positum a veritate'.

[1] This is how I interpret Gentilis's reference to 'meis his chartis, et literis'. If the 'chartae' were not MSS. they must have been proof-sheets, in which case the dedication to Tobie Matthew was written after the rest of the book was in print. As Rainolds, in his answering letter of July 10, quotes from the work, he evidently had it before him in some form.

[2] *Com. de prof. & med.* 106.

He maintained that in his defence of academic acting he was defending the good name of the Queen, who had appointed him to his Professorship, and of the highest dignitaries of the University and the Court:

'Si enim Tobias Matthaeus, si alij tot viri gravissimi, & religiosissimi isthaec iuuentutis aut exercitamenta, aut ludos adprobarunt, praefecti, & moderatores collegiorum, atque totius lumina academiae: si princeps sanctissima, religionis summum praesidium, & aulici eius, viri spectatissimae sapientiae praesentia sua honestarunt ludos: ludos tu apellare pestes quî vales?'

Rainolds did not reply till August 5, partly, as he says, because he was employed in hunting up passages in the writings of St. Augustine and others, which Gentilis had quoted, without giving the reference.[1] His letter occupies nineteen pages of print, but as it does not break fresh ground, it does not need examination here.[2]

It is the last document printed in *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes*, but it did not end the correspondence. The Corpus MS. contains four additional letters, between Gentilis and Rainolds, the Puritan theologian getting, as might be expected, the final word on March 12, 1593/4.[3]

Some years later, however, in a learned treatise, *De Actoribus et Spectatoribus Fabularum non notandis Disputatio,* Gentilis expanded and fortified the arguments in the *Commentatio Ad L. iii. c.* It was dedicated from Oxford to Tobie Matthew on October 14, 1597, and was published at Hanover in 1599. It was written, as the author tells Matthew, at the urgent entreaty of his friends, and its appearance was a proof that the controversy concerning academic acting was

[1] *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes*, 189.

[2] A reference to the recent visits to Oxford of professional actors is worth noting, 'quaestuariorum item histrionum, quorum contagio & lues apud nos nuper est grassata,' *op. cit.*, 185. Cf. *supra*, p. 226.

[3] These four letters throw very little additional light on academic stage-history, but a passage in Rainolds' last letter to Gentilis (f. 299) enables us to identify Tobie Matthew, the younger, son of the former Dean, as the actor of the part of Nais (cf. *supra*, p. 200): 'quum commentationē tuam legi expetens a summae spei puero Naidis actore. te totum in eius spatijs illic agere diceres.' With this compare Gentilis's introductory words to the *Commentatio Ad L. iii. c. de professorib. et medic.*: 'Tu legeris & illum, humanissime *Matthaee* . . . legat & lectissimus, & summae puer spei . . . filius tuus *Thobia*: in cuius illic spatijs agimus toti.'

still raging. So long, however, as this controversy was confined to Latin treatises, or to unprinted letters, it must have affected a comparatively limited circle. But in 1599 it was suddenly, and in curious fashion, brought under the notice of the general reading public. There was issued from the press a book, *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes*, containing Rainolds's two letters to Gager, and the earlier part of the correspondence between him and Gentilis. The printer prefixed an Address to the Reader, but he did not sign his name or put it on the title-page. In 1600 the sheets were reissued, with a different title-page, naming Middleburgh as the place of publication, and bearing the imprint of Richard Schilders, who probably 'had refrained from putting his name on the book until he felt sure that the authorities could find nothing objectionable in it'.[1] According to his statement, he alone was responsible for the appearance of the letters in print:

'This treatise . . . falling by Gods providence into my handes, I thought it not my part, good Reader, (though it should be in some respect offensive to th' Author himself) to conceale and keepe backe from thee in regard of the publike benefite that may thereby arise to the Church of God.'

Even when Schilders's close connexion with English Puritanism is taken into account, it seems strange that, without Rainolds's knowledge or consent, copies, not only of his letters to Gager, but of part of his correspondence in Latin with Gentilis, should have found their way to the Middleburgh press. However Schilders may have got hold of them, he knew nothing about University plays. He printed the letters because of the 'vnresistable battery of profound and vnanswerable arguments' that they directed against theatre-goers and loose-livers generally.

[1] J. Dover Wilson, *Richard Schilders and the English Puritans* (1912), p. 22. Schilders, born at Enghien in Hennegau, about 1538, had arrived in London as a refugee in 1567, and became a brother of the Stationers' Company in May 1568. In 1580 he returned to the Low Countries as printer to the States of Zealand, of which Middleburgh was the capital. Through the Brownist and Merchant Adventurers' churches in Middleburgh he was in close touch with the extreme English Puritans, and printed a number of books setting forth their views.

'Doe we not see before our eyes, howe he that can hardly be drawen to spare a penie in the Church, can yet willingly and chearefullie afoord both pence and teasters enow for himself and others at a play. Nay more, are there not some that neuer gaue a groate in their liues to the furtherance of any good cause without grudging, and yet to feede and foster themselves in their vanities and superfluities, haue full gallantly spent themselfs & their patrimony in all maner of riot and licentiousness?'

Above all, the volume was to provide an antidote to the pernicious influence of the new comedy of 'humours'. Schilders speaks with indignation of—

'those men . . . that haue hot bene afraied of late dayes to bring vpon the Stage the very sober countenances, graue attire, modest and matronelike gestures, and speaches of men & women to be laughed at as a scorne and reproch to the world . . . Well to heale, if it may be, or at least, to correct the bad humour of such humorists as these (who in their discouery of humours doe withall fouly discover their own shame and wretchednes to the world) here is now laied before thee (good Reader) a most excellent remedie and receipt.'

Thus the stolen thunder was apparently intended to overwhelm Ben Jonson and his school.[1] Though it failed to do this, the treatise continued to be read by opponents of the stage, for in 1629, John Lichfield, 'printer to the famous Vniversity of Oxford,' brought out a new edition for E. Forrest and W. Webbe.

As the University Press had thus printed successively John Case's volume, which included a summary of arguments for and against University plays; Gager's tragedies, *Vlysses* and *Meleager*, and his additions to the *Hippolytus*; and the third edition of Rainolds's pamphlet, it can claim to have shown a spirit of judicial impartiality in the prolonged controversy.

Meanwhile, at the sister University *Th'Overthrow of Stage-Playes,* curiously enough, had helped to furnish material to

[1] Schilders himself cannot, of course, have seen any of Jonson's early plays, but the vigorous English of the Address to the Reader has not the ring of foreign origin. Though this address is in the printer's name, it is not signed by him, and was probably written by some English Puritan who had placed copies of the correspondence in Schilders's hands.

an academic dramatist akin in temper and view to Gager. In Lent 1622/3 a comedy, *Fucus Histriomastix*, was acted at Queens' College, Cambridge.[1] Its author was probably Robert Ward, a Fellow of the College, and its main plot consisted of an allegorical defence of University drama against its opponents. Fucus, a 'Puritanus clericus', returning to Cambridge as tutor to a freshman, finds that a marriage is to be celebrated between Philomathes, son of Iudicium, and Comoedia, daughter of Ingenium and Poetice. He tries to get the match broken off, and the dialogue between him and Ingenium (I. vi. 29 ff.) is based upon a close study of *Th' Overthrow of Stage-Playes*, for it embodies not only some of Rainolds's arguments, but phrases quoted by him from Gager's *Momus* and at least one passage from the letters of Gentilis.

Ing. tun' his adversaris nuptijs?
Fuc. Sane.
Ing. Qua ratione ductus sane?
Fuc. Quia scenica spectacula pro illicitis habeo omnia.
Ing. Optime. impudens tun' ea vertes vitio
Quae ipsa Academiae approbarunt lumina
Suaque non semel praesentia honestarit princeps augustissimus?
Fuc. At hoc non impedit quominus pro illicitis habeantur tamen.
Ing. At pace tuâ, Fuce, cur liceat videre, facere quae turpe est?
Fuc. Parem paene esse culpam censeo, si spectator his se assuescat ludicris.
. . . . . .
Infamis fuit olim quisquis pronunciandi causa in scenam prodijt.
Ing. At infamia poenae nunquam tantum opinione hominum difficilium.
Fuc. At habitum muliebrem virum induere nefas.
Ing. At habitus nullus, sed animus turpem facit.
Quid quod quotidianus haec illi vestis non est, aut assiduus?
Fuc. At turpe est gestus molles et muliebres viros exprimere.
Ing. Imo hos spectare salus est adolescentulis,
Mature vt cum cognorint, perpetuo oderint.

[1] Edited by G. C. Moore Smith in 1909 from MSS. in Lambeth Palace Library and the Bodleian.

Fuc. At grande factum est his temporis dispendium.
Ing. Imo tempus his tributum, quod vel somno vel otio tribui solet.
Fuc. At saltationes molles perridiculae, imo vero illicitae.
Ing. Certe psallere, et saltare peraccommodum putabant olim
Mulieri probae, et perquam requisitum vtrumque viro.

It is not necessary here to follow the later episodes of the play, the attempt of Ignavia, at Fucus's instigation, to lure Philomathes back into her toils, the attack of Calumnia and Invidia, incited by Fucus, upon Comoedia, the exposure of the Puritan's malpractices, and the final union of the lovers. The allegory is plain to read, and it was a paradoxical outcome of Rainolds's treatise that it should have helped to give birth to a play in which the arguments for and against academic drama are personalized and brought upon the stage. And it is equally paradoxical that the Cambridge dramatist, whose point of view was identical with Gager's, should have had to gather his opinions from the quotations in his antagonist's pamphlet, not from his own letter, nor (in all probability) from the printed answer to *Momus*.

For the ill fortune which cheated Gager of his expected inheritance in life has dogged him after death, and gone far to rob him of a more lasting inheritance. His *apologia* for the University stage remains in manuscript to this day, while Rainolds's indictment has been in print for more than three centuries. His remarkable poem on the Gunpowder Plot—one among many proofs of his keen interest in contemporary affairs—has also (unlike Phineas Fletcher's kindred *Locustae*) never been printed, and disguised under a fantastic title has escaped recognition. Of his plays, his comedy *Rivales*, which won him most repute during his lifetime, has been lost. His tragedies, extant in only a few copies of the original editions, or, in the case of *Dido*, in a single complete manuscript, have been neglected by the majority of students.

He was, of course, in no sense a man of genius. Grimald excelled him in lyrical faculty, Buchanan in scholarship and depth of thought. He had not a subtle ear for rhythm, or much original gift of characterization. But he had versatile

talents, unconventionality of outlook, and, above all, a genuine *sens du théâtre.* The more carefully his plays are studied in relation to their sources, and to the material conditions of the Elizabethan University stage, the more highly will his technique be appreciated.

From the first he threw overboard much of the traditional rhetorical lumber of Latin tragedy, and in *Vlysses Redux,* as has been seen, he of set purpose essayed to fit into the framework of tragedy what might almost be called, in Wordsworthian phraseology, 'a selection of the language really spoken by men'. Indeed, this University dramatist, writing in Latin for a learned audience, was, at his best, master of a simpler and more virile diction than those who imitated Seneca in the vernacular. Gager's plays are free from the verbal extravagances which made *The Spanish Tragedie* equally popular and notorious. Nevertheless, in the adaptation of Senecan technique to the more comprehensive ambit of Renaissance drama, in mastery of plot-construction, and, above all, in a natural instinct for theatrically effective situations, the Christ Church playwright finds his nearest counterpart on the public stage in Thomas Kyd.

CHAPTER XI

THE QUEEN'S SECOND VISIT TO OXFORD (1592) AND AFTER

WHILE Gager was penning his letter of July 31, 1592 to Rainolds, an event was impending which was to strengthen the position of the University stage more than the ablest arguments on its behalf. Early in August, the Vice-Chancellor, Nicholas Bond, President of Magdalen, was informed that the Queen, who had not been in Oxford since the memorable 'progress' of 1566, intended to pay a second visit. A meeting of Convocation was held on August 9, and a committee appointed to make the necessary arrangements for the sovereign's entertainment. This committee drew up a series of twenty-eight regulations, which were approved by Convocation on August 17.[1] Two of these regulations dealt with the plays which, according to custom, were to be provided for the evening amusement of the royal visitor. By clause 19 there were appointed 'to oversee & pvide for y^e^ playes in Christ-Church', the Dean (Dr. William James), the Subdean, Dr. Dalabar, Dr. Gager, Dr. Martyn, Mr. Purifey, Mr. Hutten, Mr. Gwyn, Mr. Dochen, and the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors. Clause 28 enacted that 'if any Actor shall fall sicke or otherwise necessarily be letted, then another shalbe appoynted' by the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors and 'the major part of the delegates of the same facultie'. In addition to the regulations, 'advertisements' were drawn up for 'heades of houses to deliver w^th^ great charge unto their companies'. One of these was to the effect that—

[1] Twyne, MSS. xvii, ff. 174–6. The regulations, in somewhat abbreviated form, with twenty-five clauses instead of twenty-eight, are printed in Clark, *Reg. Univ. Oxon.* ii, Part I, 228–30.

'y^e^ Schollers w^ch^ cannot be admitted to see y^e^ playes, doo not make any outcries or undecent noyses about y^e^ hall stayres or w^thin^ y^e^ Quadrangle of Christchurch, as usually they were wont to doo, uppon paine of p^r^sent imprisonment & other punishment accordinge to y^e^ discretion of y^e^ vicechancellor and proctors.'

To defray the expenses of the visit, a levy was made upon the Colleges, in proportion to their incomes, but Christ Church, as the royal residence, bore much the heaviest share of the cost. In the Christ Church *liber computi* for 1592/3, the expenses of 'the intertainm^t^ of her ma^tie^ cūmynge hether the xxij day of September 1592 & stayinge here vij daies' are entered at a total of £177 10*s.* 9*d.*, of which £31 2*s.* 2*d.* were expended 'in stage & towards plaies'. From this sum £50 is deducted 'as allowed by the univ'sitie', 'and so this churche is clerlie charged w^th^ cxxvij^li^. x^s^. ix^d^.'

It is very surprising that of this visit, paid to Oxford in the most glorious period of Elizabeth's reign, there are far less detailed records than of her earlier visit, though the general programme was on both occasions very similar. Instead of the picturesque and joyous descriptions by Stephens, Bereblock, and others of the festal days and nights in September 1566, we have a single contemporary narrative of a strangely different type. It is from the pen of Philip Stringer, who had been Fellow and Senior Bursar of St. John's College, Cambridge, and one of the Esquire-bedels of the University. Together with Dr. Henry Mowtlowe of King's College, he had been deputed by the Cambridge authorities to attend, during the Queen's residence at Oxford, upon the Lord Treasurer, Burghley, who was Chancellor of Cambridge. The tone of his narrative, like that of his later account of the visit of King James in 1605, when he again officially represented his University, is curiously acrid and censorious.[1]

[1] Stringer's narrative was not written till after the death of Elizabeth, when James I was expected to visit Cambridge, and the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. John Cowell, asked for an account of the Queen's entertainment at Oxford. Stringer, after drafting his narrative, sent it on May 3, 1603, to Mowtlowe for revision. 'I have presumed somewhat hastily to put together such notes as I then took thereof, in such meane sort as here appeareth; very instantly entreating yow to run over it, and so to alter it,

The elaborate series of orations, disputations, sermons, and lectures, including 'a Lecture in Musick, with the practice thereof by instrument', arranged for the edification of the Queen and her Court, can scarcely draw from him a single word even of grudging approval. But he is swift to note anything that gives an opportunity for unfavourable comment, even 'the foulness of the weather', when Elizabeth was met at Godstow Bridge, on the afternoon of her entry into Oxford, by the University authorities, and consented 'to stay the hearing of a speech, wherewithal they were provided . . . so that it were not too longe'. The Senior Proctor made accordingly a short speech, but in the 'philosophy act' on the following day, September 23, the Public Orator, if Stringer is to be trusted, wearied the Queen by the length of his argument, as did the Bishop of Hereford when he concluded the disputation in Divinity on September 27.[1] Even on the morning of her departure, September 28, she had to endure 'a long tedious oration made unto hir by the Junior Proctor of the University, about a mile from the in the very edge of their bounds or liberties towards city, Shotover'.

There is no reason to suppose that Elizabeth was less delighted with her entertainment than in 1566, but the blithe spirit of festival evaporates in Stringer's sullen pages, and allowance must be made for his cross-grained temper in considering the meagre account that he gives, under date Sunday, September 24, of the plays performed in the Queen's presence at Christ Church[2]:

'At night there was a comedy acted before her Highnes in the hall of that colledge; and one other on Tuesday at night,

as yow shall finde cause both for the matter and manner. My desire was chiefly to set it down truly, according as it was done. Which if it have your allowance (my notes being somewhat worn out of my book of tables) I shall the better satisfy myself in the rest.' Nichols, *Progresses*, iii. 150.

[1] Wood, in his brief account of the visit (*Annals*, ii. 248–53) mentions 'the tediousness' of the Bishop's oration, which he insisted on finishing, though the Queen 'sent twice to him to cut it short'.

[2] Stringer has, however, here the advantage over Wood, who merely says: 'In the nights also were sometimes plays acted in Christ Church Hall by several Students of the University; but what they were or how applauded, I know not' (*op. cit.*, ii. 249). This proves that Wood was not acquainted with Stringer's narrative.

being both of them but meanely performed (as we thought), and yet most graciouslye and with great patience heard by hir Majestie. The one being called *Bellum Grammaticale*, and the other intituled *Riuales*.'

Twyne's account of the measures taken by Convocation to provide for the dramatic performances during the royal visit, and the evidence of the Christ Church accounts as to the sums expended upon them, proves that the plays cannot have been 'meanely' staged. Moreover, additional costumes and properties had apparently been obtained from the Revels' Office in London, for the Vice-Chancellor, in a letter to Lord Francis Dorset on September 2, mentions that 'we have sent up two to procure furniture for our playe, with your lordship's letter to the Master of the Revels, whom we understand not to be in London'.[1] And with the continuous tradition of amateur acting at Christ Church, it is highly improbable that on so momentous an occasion the carefully selected performers were as ineffective as Stringer insinuates.

It is noticeable, however, that the theatrical programme arranged for the Queen's amusement was shorter and less varied than in 1566. Even Elizabeth at fifty-nine could not go through so much as at thirty-three. Plays were provided for two nights instead of four, and both of them were Latin comedies. They were not written for the occasion, but were revived on account of their popularity. If the royal entertainment thus lacked the excitement connected with 'first nights', the College authorities had the advantage of previous experience in producing the plays. The earlier performances of *Riuales* have been dealt with above. The date of the first production of *Bellum Grammaticale* on the academic stage is unknown, but a reference by Sir John Harington in 1591 to 'our Cābridge Pedantius and the Oxford Bellum Grammaticale' as 'full of harmeles myrth',[2] proves that the Christ Church play was well known by 1591. If we accept Dr. Richard Gardiner's statement, which there is no

[1] *Reports of Hist. MSS. Comm.* vol. iv, p. 300. Bond writes from Magdalen College, but no play was performed there during the Queen's visit, so that the reference is doubtless to one or other of the Christ Church comedies.

[2] In his *Apologie of Poetrie* prefixed to his translation of the *Orlando Furioso*.

valid reason for doubting, that it was from the pen of Leonard Hutten,[1] it was not improbably written as early as 1583.

Hutten, who was born about 1557, had, together with Gager, been elected a Student of Christ Church from Westminster School in 1574. He proceeded B.A. in November 1578, and M.A. in March 1581/2. Wood states that 'his younger years were beautified with all kind of polite learning', and Gager, in a series of couplets addressed to each of the senior members of Christ Church, on September 26, 1583, singles Hutten out as pre-eminent both in the writing and acting of comedies:[2]

Seu scribenda siet Comoedia, seu sit agenda,
Primū Huttone potes sumere iure locū.

The lines are of great importance for Hutten's biography, as, apart from Gardiner's statement, they are our only evidence of his connexion with the academic stage, either as author or performer. Moreover, the terms of compliment are so emphatic, that it may plausibly be inferred that Hutten had already written his only comedy that was destined to win more than a local reputation. In any case, his plays probably belong to his early years of residence, as afterwards he became absorbed in ecclesiastical work, being presented to a College living in 1587, and being appointed successively prebendary and subdean of Christ Church and prebendary of St. Paul's. In 1605 he published a theological treatise on the sign of the Cross in Baptism, but he was not concerned to win literary

[1] Wood makes the following statement (*Ath. Oxon.*, ii. 533): 'I have been informed by one (D^r^ Rich. Gardiner, canon of Ch. church, aged 79, an. 1670) who knew this D^r^ Hutten well, that he was the author of a trag. com. called *Bellum Grammaticale*, but how that can be, I cannot discern, for tho' it was written by an Oxford man, if not two, yet one edition of it came out in 1574, in Oct. which was the year when D^r^ Hutten first saluted the Oxonian muses.' Wood's scepticism is doubtless due to a confusion of Hutten's play with its source, Andrea Guarna's prose *Bellum Grammaticale*, or the English version of Guarna's work by William Hayward, probably first published in 1569, and reprinted 1576. No 1574 edition, however, of either Guarna's or Hayward's work is extant. As Richard Gardiner entered Christ Church (of which he eventually became a Canon) in 1607, and was in residence for many years with Hutten, his testimony is of first-rate value.

[2] B.M. Addit. MSS. 22583, f. 63^v^.

fame, for at his death in 1632 he left in manuscript two dissertations on the Antiquities of Oxford and on the history of Christ Church.[1] If he was careless about the fate of these learned works, he doubtless never thought of printing such a 'toy' as *Bellum Grammaticale*.[2]

The comedy is a dramatized version of one of the most popular publications of the Renaissance period, the *Bellum Grammaticale* of the Italian humanist Andrea Guarna, originally published at Cremona in 1511.[3] Guarna's work, which is written in Latin prose, modelled chiefly on Livy, but with an admixture of elements from other classical authors, is an ingenious and witty *jeu d'esprit*. Its fundamental idea is to explain the irregularities of Latin grammar as the result of a civil war between the various parts of speech. A brief synopsis of Guarna's narrative is necessary if Hutten's handling of the theme is to be understood. Originally, the province of *Grammatica*, which must be traversed by all who wish to reach 'sublimiores regiones beatioresque habitationes, Dialecticam scilicet, Philosophiam, Theologiam ceterasque illis similes provincias', was ruled in perfect harmony by its two kings, Verbum (the verb) and Nomen (the noun), who were named respectively Amo and Poeta. But after a dinner, when they were heated with wine, the two rulers fell into a controversy as to which was the mightier 'in conficienda oratione'. Excited speeches were interchanged, and but for the intervention

[1] The former was printed by Hearne in 1720, and reprinted by C. Plummer in *Elizabethan Oxford* (1887); the latter has disappeared.

[2] It is thus only by a fortunate accident that *Bellum Grammaticale* has not, in common with almost every Oxford sixteenth-century comedy, disappeared. It remained in manuscript till 1635. In that year John Spencer, a bookseller and librarian of Sion College, published it with a dedication to two young noblemen, Thomas, Lord Grey, eldest son of the first Earl of Stamford, and Henry Howard, younger son of the first Earl of Berkshire, in which he takes credit, justly enough, for having rescued the play from destruction: 'Dramaticum hunc inveni typum quasi orphanum nilq; auxilij habentem, ac . . . excepi, fovi, indulsi, revestivi.' In a further address to the reading public he commends the work 'ob stili puritatem, et sermonis elegantiam materiaeq; suavitatem,' and also emphasizes its value for scholastic purposes: 'tyrones etenim tyrunculique, animos ad rem Grammaticam appellentes, non parúm emolumenti exinde queant decerpere.' On the Edinburgh edition of the play, 1658, see Bolte, *op. cit.*, 293–4.

[3] Reprinted from the 1511 edition, with a valuable introduction, a selection of 'Nachahmungen', and a bibliography, by Johannes Bolte in *Monumenta Germaniae Pedagogica*, XLIII (1908).

of 'seniores et saniores viri', angry words would have been followed by blows. On the morrow, the partisans of both sides held councils, and the followers of Poeta sent by a herald a declaration of open war against Amo, which was eagerly accepted by his supporters.

Each king then summoned his subjects to his standard. Round Amo rallied the Adverbs, and 'multae aliae nationes Verborum . . . videlicet natio Incohativa, Frequentativa, Meditativa, Desiderativa,' etc. He was joined too by 'fortissimi satrapae Anomali', named Sum, Volo, Fero, and Edo; by other classes of irregular verbs, and by the Gerunds who, however, left their Supines in the camp of the Nouns. To this camp, at the call of Poeta, came the various orders of Pronouns and the Prepositions under their queen Ad.

The opposing forces were drawn up on either side of the 'flumen Disiunctivarum nomine Sive', and while they were making their final preparations for the encounter, several incidents took place. Each of the kings sent a letter to the Participle, claiming his support, but that wily potentate decided to remain neutral, in the hope of reaping advantage, whichever side proved victorious. A band of robbers began to pillage the province of Grammar, but they were captured by troops belonging to both parties. Among these robbers was Catholicon, a personification of the dictionary called by that name, which was compiled in 1286 by the monk Johannes Januensis. Catholicon 'grandem asinum vocabulis Graecis Latinisque confuse permixtis onustum in Italiam agebat'. He confessed under torture 'se omnia vocabula in Grammaticae terris furto surripuisse', and having bound himself to restore his booty to its rightful owners, he was contemptuously dismissed with his ass now more lightly laden. But some of his fellows got into their clutches 'Priscianus, vir praestantissimus et in omni Grammatica apprime honoratus', who was hastening towards the rival camps as a peacemaker. He was robbed and beaten, and received an incurable wound in the head.

The battle itself, which began at daybreak, was waged with the greatest fury on both sides; the issue was not decisive, but the losses on either hand were extremely severe. These are described in great detail, for in this humorously allego-

rical explanation of the irregularities of Latin grammar lies, as has been said above, the main motive of Guarna's work.[1]

So overcome was Poeta by the slaughter among his troops that he decided to send an envoy to Amo, offering to come to terms, and the offer met with a ready response. It was decided to appoint arbitrators to draw up a final settlement, and with the approval of Priscianus, Servius, and Donatus, the choice fell upon the three Italian humanists, Thomas Inghirami of Volaterrae, Pietro Marso, and Raffaello Brandolino. Their award was in the nature of a compromise, of which the chief clause ran:

'In oratione igitur volumus Nomen Verbo supponi et, cum apponitur, a Verbo Nomen regi debere decernimus, quantum ad casum; quantum vero ad personas et numeros, Verbum supposito cedere, quod sit vel Nomen vel Pronomen vel Participium.'

The award was unanimously accepted, and was unanimously approved by 'omnia Italiae gymnasia, et praecipue Bononiensis docta civitas', a compliment which suggests that Guarna had been a student at the University of Bologna. In contrast is the parting hit at the learned world of Paris, which 'cetera recipiens hoc suis provincialibus speciale reservavit, pronunciandi scilicet tam Verba quam Nomina libere et sine aliqua syllabarum quantitatis discretione'.

In spite of this and some other touches of Italian local feeling, Guarna's vivacious allegory took the European world of letters by storm. No fewer than seventy-five editions of the work are known to have been printed during the sixteenth century.[2]

[1] Thus on the side of the verbs, 'Facio orbatus filio suo Facior, qui tamen, priusquam exspiraret, militari testamento heredem sibi instituit Fio . . . Omnia verba pertinentia ad splendorem spoliata sunt supinis, inter quae Luceo, Fulgeo, Splendeo, Polleo et similia. Fulcio singulari usus audacia excussit periculum et retinuit suum Fultum.' Other verbs 're strenue acta vel ex hostilibus spoliis vel sui regis munere ad priorem statum aliquid addidere . . . Valeo ultra proprium sensum, qui est sanus esse, obtinuit etiam, ut, cum diceret Vale, salutaret. Praesto similiter duos habuit sensus, scilicet mutuari et super existere.'

The losses and gains of the nouns are detailed in similar fashion, and the situation is finally summed-up in the statement that, 'quicquid in omnibus Grammaticae terminis auctum diminutumve reperitur, ex illo cruento, exsecrabili et funesto bello processisse.'

[2] Twelve of these appeared in Italy, twenty-five in France, thirty-six in

It was translated into Italian (in ottava rima), French, and English. With its vivid personifications, its speeches and letters, it lent itself also naturally to dramatization. Here Hutten, followed in 1597 by a playwright at the Jesuits' College in Munich, seems to have led the way.[1] He gives no hint of the source of his comedy; in his prologue he merely justifies with mock seriousness the choice of subject as suitable to his powers:

> Si vobis ridiculi
> Videbimur, quod rem in Scaenam producimus ridiculam,
> Decorum nos observasse existimabitis, ut in fabulis decet,
> Materiam qui sumpserimus nostris convenientem viribus.

But he seems to assume that his audience was familiar with the story, for, somewhat strangely, he omits the opening quarrel-scene between the kings of the nouns and the verbs. This is merely alluded to (I. i. 70–2) as

> Illa, illa infoelix contentio,
> Quae de principatu hodie est orta in convivio
> Inter *Amo* Verborum principem, & *Poetam* regem meum,

in the opening speech of Ille, the parasite of Poeta. For in accordance with the conventions of Roman comedy, Hutten furnishes each of his protagonists with a parasite, Ubique being attached to Amo, as Ille is to Poeta. Both of them are confirmed gluttons, Ille especially revelling in the recital of the details of his gastronomic feats, to which he foresees that the pending hostilities will give a pause. His monologue is interrupted by the entrance of Adjectivum in Neutro genere—

Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, one (though printed at Wittenberg) in Denmark, and one in Spain. It is remarkable that not a single edition was published in England, and though one appeared in Scotland, at Aberdeen, this was not till 1623. Thirteen of the German editions (including the one published in Denmark), from 1534 onwards, printed the work in an abbreviated form, adapted to the use of Protestant schools by Johannes Spangenberg, a teacher at Nordhausen.

[1] Bolte is mistaken (*op. cit.*, Introd. 36) in thinking that Ralph Radclif's 'De calamitosa et exitiali nominis et verbi, potentissimorum regum in regno grammaticae, pugna' is a play. Bale, who mentions it amongst Radclif's works, both in the *Catalogus*, i. 700, and in the *Index*, 333, describes it not as 'tra.' or 'com.' but as 'li[bri] 2'. If the opening words which he quotes, 'Dignissimus Imperator et esse et censeri,' are from the body of the work, it was probably a prose adaptation from Guarna; if they are from a dedication, Radclif's work may have been in verse.

another addition by the dramatist—who comes stumbling upon the stage. His progress is unsteady, as he is not yet accustomed to his newly-won freedom, whereby he has shaken off the yoke of the Substantiva (I. ii. 103-6):

> Ego alieno nuper eram subiectus imperio
> Et aliena[1] quondam indigebam ope.
> Nunc ego mihi meo iure *Genetiuum casum* postulo
> Vt mihi sit, sicuti ego olim fui *Substantivis*, morigerus.

So he cries exultingly, but his knees totter under him, and he is preparing to lie down and rest when Ille addresses him, and after bantering him on his appearance, tells him of the coming battle. Adjectivum is immediately on fire to show off his resources, and promises to furnish 'tres equitum turmas' for Poeta's support. But Poeta, who is introduced in the next scene, is far from being the fiery leader portrayed by Guarna. He is brooding in melancholy mood over the insults of Amo, but hesitates to declare war upon him, though he has at his command an army (I. iii. 232–5),

> Quantum *Xerxis* fuisse perhibent,
> In quo numerati sunt decem militum Miriades,

for fear of the disaster that will be brought upon the whole province of Grammar. But Ille, as greedy of dominion for his sovereign as of good cheer for himself, exhorts Poeta to maintain his honour by arms, and reminds him that all the heroes, from Ajax to Briareus, are on the side of the Nouns. Moved by these appeals, Poeta vows in elegiac couplets to wage war with his foe both in life and in death. Amo, for his part, in the dialogue that follows with Ubique, is so infuriated that he needs counsels of restraint—a clever differentiation by the dramatist between the two parallel scenes. His nature has been transformed by Poeta's insults from Love to Hatred, and in an insane outburst—which may have been intended to ridicule a mad scene in some popular play—he cries (I. iv. 364 ff.):

> Imo utramque *Verborum* & *Nominum*
> Odi gentem, Patrem odi qui me genuit,
> Matrem, quae me peperit; amicos omnes odi meos,

[1] 'alienam' in text.

Te, *Ubique*, odi donec illius odiosum ulciscar odium.

. . . . . .

Ita me dij ament, ubi sum nescio,
Ita bile feruet, ita tumet mihi jecur.

Well may Ubique remind this crowned rhetorician—a comic predecessor of the Shakespearian Richard II—of the practical necessities of the situation (I. iv. 406–8):

Non verbis haec res est agenda, sed verberibus.
Arma, arma, continuo fugiet, arma si viderit;[1]
Verbis si contendis, *Poeta* erit superior.

In the earlier scenes of Act II, setting forth the attempts of the rival leaders to secure the support of Participium, Hutten follows closely the lines of the original narrative, though the appeals to this crafty personage are made by Ille and Ubique on behalf of their masters, and not by letters. Guarna, however, who ended his work with a compliment to the 'pontifex incomparabilis', Julius II, would have been scandalized at the comparison which Participium makes between his own double nature and that of the Pope (II. i. 438–43):

Quid? quid summus *Papa*? *Pontifex* est *Participium*:
Cum nec deus est, nec homo,
Et deus est, et homo, quos vult ad *Tartarum*
Trudit & rursus emittit, parva pecunia
Vendit *Christum*, Cruces & Altaria
Et coelum etiam, si emptorem invenerit.

Another anti-Papal interpolation is Ubique's query, when he is unable at first to find Participium (II. iii. 524–8):

Dij te omnes perdant; ubi tu dilituisti, vbi cedo?
Num in Pythagorae spatio extra coelum vltimum,
Num in *Plutonis* Tartaro aut in specu *Trophonij*,
Num in *lymbo Patrum* aut *Papae* purgatorio,
Aut in alio ficto loco?

In contrast to Participium, with his selfish policy of masterly inactivity, there is introduced the wistful figure of the would-be peacemaker Simul, vainly endeavouring to reconcile the opposing parties (II. vi. 683 ff.):

[1] 'videret' in text.

Vtriq; servio, utriq; cupio, & *Verbo*, & *Nomini*;

. . . . . .

Alteri non tam cupio bene, ut alteri cupiam male;
Ego *Nomina* si quando est opus, et *Verba* copulo,
Communis servus sum totius *Grammaticae*, non studeo
Partibus, nisi forte *partium* lites possum componere.

Poeta, temperamentally averse from violence, would fain follow Simul's counsels, but cannot do so without dishonour (II. vi. 727–8):

Sed eo progressum est, ut non possim[1] sine dedecore
Pedem referre; id si possim, libenter sane velim.

Amo, still in an extremity of rage, sends him packing, with the threat (II. vii. 752–3):

Nisi actutum fugis, feres
Infortunium magnum.

The last hope of reconciliation thus gone, in Act III the mustering of forces begins, though to present this adequately on the Christ Church stage was as impossible for the Oxford dramatist as it had been for Legge to present the action at Bosworth Field within the hall of St. John's, Cambridge. Hutten thus picks out a few representative figures on either side. Poeta is joined by Ego, leader of the Pronouns, by Cis, whom the playwright substitutes for Ad as queen of the Prepositions, with her 'fidissimis Amazonibus', and by Pape, head of the Interjections, though Guarna had represented these as female camp-followers of both armies. By the side of Amo we see Aedepol, leader of the Adverbs, who, with adjuration of

Dij deaeque, superi, inferi miseri, medioximi,[2]

protests that the forces of Poeta are as nothing compared with the infinite legions of the Verbs.

The prospect of the catastrophe that is to overwhelm the province of Grammar stirs Solicismus, Barbarismus, Traulismus, and Cacatonus to jubilant outcries in characteristic jargon. Solicismus takes the lead in a speech violating every rule of Latin grammar (III. iii. 936–8):

[1] 'possum' in text. [2] 'medeoximi' in text.

Ego nunquam curavit floccos *Grammaticales* regulas.
Sed ego accepit de severus *Priscianus* bonus remedium
Quia ille vapulavit me millies in Scholam:

and the other 'grammaticae pestes' follow suit according to their kind.

But the conflict is still delayed, and the episodes which occupy Act IV are less happily imagined than those in the earlier Acts. Somewhat singularly, the dramatist omits such incidents in Guarna's narrative as the capture of Catholicon and his ass, and the waylaying of Priscianus. But he shows the adverb Sodes delivering a formal declaration of war from Amo to Poeta, who even at this stage needs to have his courage whetted by his more bellicose followers. After a superfluous 'biting of thumbs' between the two parasites, Ubique, accompanied by Edo, who is to help him to eat up the enemy, makes a sally in advance and captures Sum, who is deserting to the side of the Nomina Substantiva, on whose existence his own is dependent. The fugitive is released on condition that he hands over a number of his parts, such as 'es', 'est', 'estis', to Edo, but meanwhile Ille—for whose presence there is no obvious reason—purloins Ubique's commissariat.

Simul, indefatigable in his efforts as peacemaker, appeals as a last resource to the 'Grammaticae iudices', Priscianus, and three Renaissance humanists, Despauterius (the Belgian grammarian Jean Despautères), Linacre, and William Lily, whom Hutten substitutes for the trio of Italian scholars mentioned by Guarna. In the name of Mercury, 'eloquentiae et artium deus,' they proclaim a truce and summon Amo and Poeta to await judgement at their bar. This is a more mechanical solution of the entanglement than in Guarna's narrative, where Poeta is so overcome by the losses among his followers that he proposes peace of his own accord. But the change, though not an improvement, is mainly due to the fact that, influenced both by the limitations of his stage and by the conventions of classical drama, the Christ Church playwright gave much less prominence to the battle itself than Guarna had done. In the latter's narrative the account had occupied ten chapters, or nearly a third of the whole history. In the comedy it is compressed into a speech

of seventy-five lines—out of a total of nearly 1,700—which is put into the mouth of Fors, who has lost all her cases except the nominative and ablative while fighting on the side of the Nouns. Some of the details, however, omitted by Fors appear in the speeches of the judges who, after hearing her relation of the casualties during the action, issue decrees to repair the losses of both parties, and to provide for a permanent settlement. These edicts are unanimously accepted, and are embodied in the officially prescribed Latin grammar, published in—

Brevissima Institutio,
seu
Ratio Grammatices cognoscendae ad omnium puerorum utilitatem praescripta.
Quam solam Regia Majestas in omnibus scholis docendam praecipit.

With this neat allusion to the royal prerogative in the scholastic sphere the play ends.

It will be seen that Hutten treated his original with great freedom, and, in the main, with remarkable skill. He could not, indeed, avoid the difficulties inherent in the dramatization of a war—even on the bloodless fields of allegory. He had to shift (as has been indicated) the centre of gravity in the plot, and the interest of the play does not culminate, like that of its source, in the closing episodes. But in the selection and arrangement of his materials he shows true constructive power, while his additions are a proof of creative dramatic faculty, though his dialogue contains many echoes from Roman comedy, especially from Terence. The burlesque figures of the skilfully contrasted kings, and the quaint pageant of their symbolically clad followers, could not but arouse the 'harmeles myrth' of which Harington speaks. And Elizabeth and her statesmen were doubtless none the less pleased with the play because, as a French translation of Guarna's work in 1556 pointed out, it conveyed a political moral of 'les maux procedans de la discorde des Princes ou grandz seigneurs, parens, alliez ou prochains'.

The play was introduced on this, its most memorable performance,[1] by two prologues written by Gager. In the

[1] No later performance of the comedy at either University seems to be

first, Apollo, leaving 'clara Woodstochij iuga', welcomes the Queen again to her father's foundation of Christ Church, after an absence of twenty-six years. The second prepares the audience for the spectacle of a battle in which no blood will be shed:

> Nihil hic erit reale, sed erunt omnia
> Idola rerum spectraq; ae laruae leues.

Gager also furnished an epilogue, wherein courtly adulation of Elizabeth leads the apologist of the academic stage to speak in unduly depreciatory terms of the entertainment offered to her:

> Patientiam
> Et sessionis pene martyrium tuae!
> . . . . . .
> tené otium
> Locare nobis! nullus vbi dulcis puer,
> Nec vestis exquisita nec symphonia.
> Non histrionis Roscij hic vel discitur
> Vel ars docetur.

But however humble his phrases, it must have given Gager a sense of triumph, after the attack made upon the Christ Church Shrovetide performances, to welcome the Queen and Court to revivals of his friend Hutten's *Bellum Grammaticale* and his own fiercely denounced *Riuales*. And he can scarcely have been ill pleased when, on the last morning of her visit,

recorded, but it was revived at schools in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. George Lovejoy, head master of the King's School, Canterbury, records its performance by his pupils during his period of office between 1665 and 1684 (Woodruff and Capes, *Schola Regia Cantuariensis*, 133).

It was acted at Tonbridge School in 1718, under Richard Spencer, who brought out an edition of it 'multo emendatior' in 1726, reissued in 1729. The '*Bellum grammaticale, siue de bello Nominum et Verborum fabula*' acted at Stamford School in December 1717, and printed at London in 1718, was not the Oxford comedy, but a series of dialogues based upon Guarna's work.

An English adaptation of Hutten's play, *The warr of Grammar* (with the alternative titles *Basileia seu Bellum Grammaticale*), was acted at Cranbrook School at Christmas, 1666, and is preserved in B. M. Add. MSS. 22725. It was probably written by Samuel Hoadley, an assistant master at the school, and author of an English and Latin grammar, whose name appears on the MS. as its owner. Acts I and II are original, and show the influence of the views of Comenius; III–V are based mainly on the Oxford play. See further Bolte, *op. cit.*, Introduction, 41–3.

September 28, at a conference with Heads of Houses and Doctors, Elizabeth 'schooled Dr John Rainolds for his obstinate preciseness, willing him to follow her laws, and not run before them'.[1] After having spoken her mind very frankly 'in the Latin Tongue', the Queen left the city by the east gate, 'casting her eyes on the walls of St. Mary's Church, All Souls, University, and Magdalen Colleges, which were mostly hung with verses and emblematical expressions of Poetry'. At Shotover she gave the Doctors and Masters who had accompanied her to the University confines 'many thanks and her hand to kiss', and then, looking wistfully towards Oxford, said to this effect in the Latin tongue: 'Farewell, farewell, dear Oxford, God bless thee, and increase thy sons in number, holiness, and virtue.'[2] It was her last sight of either University.

Was the anonymous author of *The Tragedie of Caesar and Pompey, or Caesars Reuenge*, 'privately acted by the Studentes of Trinity Colledge in Oxford', thinking of Elizabeth's entertainment during this visit, when he made the fallen Pompey remember wistfully the time when he was wont

> to be met with troopes of Horse and Men,
> With playes and pageants to be entertayned?

For though the play was not entered on the Stationers' register till June 1606, and was published probably before the end of the year,[3] the internal evidence points to its having been written within a few years of the Queen's visit. The lines spoken by Caesar's Ghost (ll. 1974 ff.)—

> Out of the horror of those shady vaultes
> . . . . . .
> My restless soule comes heere to tell his wronges—

are evidently modelled on the opening verses of Daniel's *Rosamund*, published in 1592:

> Out from the horror of infernall deepes
> My poore afflicted ghost comes here to plain it.

[1] Wood, *Annals*, ii. 251. [2] Wood, *op. cit.*, ii. 253.

[3] There were two issues of the play, with different title-pages; the earlier of these is undated, and has the imprint 'by *G[eorge] E[ld]* for *John Wright*'; the later, dated 1607, has the imprint 'for *Nathaniel Fosbrooke* and *John Wright*', and the note about the performance at Trinity College. See the Malone Society reprint of the play (1911).

There are numerous borrowings from the earlier Books of *The Faerie Queene*, published in 1590, but none from Books IV–VI, which appeared in 1596.[1] It is thus probable that the play was written between 1592 and 1596. The general characteristics of style and versification, and the imitation of plays of Kyd and Marlowe which were then at the height of their popularity, help to support this conclusion.

Internal evidence also indicates that the tragedy was not only acted at Oxford, but was of academic origin. There is a local reference in the lines put into Caesar's mouth, when he is summing up his series of victories (ll. 1278–9):

> And *Isis* wept to see her daughter *Thames*
> Chainge her cleere cristall, to vermillion sad.

It is noticeable, too, that among the Egyptian pleasures upon which Cleopatra bids Caesar feed his eyes are 'our *Academick* Schooles'. The number of recondite classical allusions and the complete absence of comic relief are features distinctive of a University play.

Moreover, though the author, unlike Eedes in 1581/2, wrote not in Latin but in English, he drew his materials mainly from Appian's *Bella Civilia*, instead of North's Plutarch, which served the uses of writers for the popular stage. His play covers the period of six years from the battle of Pharsalus, B. C. 48, to that of Philippi, B. C. 42. Throughout, Appian appears to be his sole authority for the genuinely historical episodes, as is shown by many coincidences of detail. Thus in Act I, when Pompey is flying from the stricken field to seek the protection of Ptolemy, he cries (ll. 180–1):

> He that goeth seeking of a Tirant aide,
> Though free he went, a seruant then is made,

a translation of the Sophoclean lines put into his mouth by Appian. The historian is also the authority for the incident of Caesar sparing the life of Brutus during the battle (ll. 192–215). In Act II, the murder of Pompey before the eyes of

[1] These imitations of Daniel and Spenser were pointed out by Mr. Charles Crawford (Malone Society *Collections*, pp. 290–2 (1911). See further *infra*, p. 270.

his wife by Sempronius (ll. 738–78), is based upon Appian's account, in which alone the assassin is so named. Still more closely does the dramatist follow the historian in the episode of Cato's suicide at Utica (ll. 1038–1143). In Act III, the comparison which Caesar on his return to Rome makes between his own exploits and those of Alexander (ll. 1263–95), is suggested by the parallel which Appian draws between them after the dictator's death. The account of the conspiracy and murder is modelled on that of the historian, who alone includes Bucolianus (l. 1071) among the assassins, and who states that Caesar received twenty-three wounds (l. 2296). In Act IV, Anthony addresses the populace over Caesar's hearse (ll. 1852 ff.):

> You that to *Caesar* iustly did decree
> Honors diuine and sacred reuerence:
> And oft him grac'd with titles well deserued,
> Of Countries Father, Stay of Commonwealth,
> And that which neuer any bare before,
> Inviolate, Holy, Consecrate, Vntucht,
> Doe see this friend of *Rome*, this Contryes Father,
> This Sonne of lasting fame and endles praise,
> And in a mortall trunke, immortall vertue,
> Slaughtered, profan'd and bucherd like a beast.

Except for the fierce invective against the murderers, these lines are taken almost word for word from Antony's speech as reported by Appian, who also gives a long speech by Brutus on the previous day at the Capitol, which the dramatist omits. In Act V the account given by Cassius and Brutus of their exploits between their flight from Rome and their last stand at Philippi has many verbal echoes of Appian, as in Cassius's description of Rhodes (ll. 2161–2):

> That was my nurse, where in my youth I drew
> The flowing milke of Greekish eloquence.

The final episode of the battle is treated with greater freedom, and, of course, throughout the plot the dramatist selects only part of the copious material which he found in his source. But what he does choose is handled in chronicle-history fashion, with a total disregard of the unities of place or time.

His play, however, is not merely a chronicle-history. What gives it its distinctive character is, that the writer sees the great world-events with which he is dealing through a curiously distorting atmosphere. Whether or not he shared Gager's attitude towards professional actors, he was an eager reader of contemporary plays and poems, and he viewed historical incidents and personages in the fanciful illumination reflected from these. His favourite non-dramatic writer was Spenser, and, as has been mentioned, there are constant echoes from Books I–III of *The Faerie Queene*. It is curious to find Cleopatra offering to entertain Caesar in 'a stately Pallace' described in phrases borrowed from the account of Malecasta's Castle Joyeous, and Caesar, for the Egyptian queen's sake, like the victim of Acrasia's arts, hanging up his arms, 'these idle Instruments', and offering to deck her brow with Hyacinth, Amaranthus, and Narcissus plucked from the garden of Adonis. So again, Antony, when he tenders Caesar the crown on the eve of a Parthian expedition, speaks of the 'restlesse mind' that 'is with child of noble enterprise', phrases used first of the Red Cross Knight meditating on his coming contest with Sansjoy. And Cassius compares the murdered dictator to the consecrated ox smitten at the altar, a simile applied to Marinell when unhorsed by Britomart's spear.

All this, though far-fetched, only touches the surface of the play, and the same is true even of some of the borrowings from Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and *Faustus*. But it is astonishing to find Brutus, of all men, as he stabs himself on the battle-field, apparently echoing the agonized cry of Faustus waiting for Mephistophilis to claim the fulfilment of his bond:

> Hell craues her right,[1] and heere the furyes stand,
> And all the hell-hounds compasse me a round.

And the whole conception of Caesar is manifestly inspired by Tamburlaine—

> Threatning the world with high astounding tearms
> And scourging kingdoms with his conquering sword,

[1] It has been pointed out (Malone Soc. *Coll.*, 293) that these words are closer to 'Hell claims his right' (l. 1287) in the 1616 edition of *Doctor Faustus*, than to 'Hell calls for right' in the 1604 edition.

while the dictator's relation to Cleopatra is coloured by the Scythian's to Zenocrate.

But while the influence of Spenser counts for something, and that of Marlowe for more, the dominant factor in the shaping of the tragedy is to be found in the contemporary 'revenge' plays, above all *The Spanish Tragedie.* Therefore in adopting the second title of the Trinity drama, *Caesars Reuenge,* as its standard designation, we are not merely distinguishing it from Shakespeare's and Chapman's plays on the same theme, but are indicating correctly the type to which it belongs.

In *The Spanish Tragedie* the Ghost of Andrea and Revenge form a Chorus. They speak the 'induction' and epilogue, and comment on the situation at the close of each Act. In *Caesars Reuenge* there are two similar figures, Caesar's Ghost and Discord. But their relative importance is changed. Kyd's play, though the wars between Spain and Portugal form its background, is concerned with individual fortunes, and its tangle of 'blood and sorrow' results from the death of the Spanish courtier Andrea, at the hands of the 'Portingal' prince, Balthazar. Hence the Ghost is the main figure in the Chorus, and his only concern is to see vengeance executed upon his enemy, and to incite Revenge to secure this. The Oxford play has for its subject the momentous conflicts in which the Roman republic went to its doom, and in which the fortunes of the rival leaders suffered kaleidoscopic changes. Hence Discord here appropriately watches over the development of events, and indeed, technically, is the sole Chorus. She exults alike in the downfall of the mighty and in the accompanying national catastrophes. Thus, when she first appears during the battle at Pharsalia, she cries (22 ff.):

> Great *Pompey*, Great, while Fortune did him raise,
> Now vailes the glory of his vanting plumes,
> And to the ground casts of his high hang'd lookes. . . .
> Let *Rome*, growne proud with her vnconquered strength,
> Perish and conquered be with her owne strength
> And win all powers to disioyne and breake,
> Consume, confound, dissolue, and discipate
> What Lawes, Armes and Pride hath raised vp.

At the close of Act II, when Caesar has returned in triumph to Rome—the point where Shakespeare's play opens—she calls for vengeance (ll. 1153 ff.):

> *Erinnis* kindle now the Stigian brands,
> In discontented *Brutus* boyling brest,
> Let Caesar die a bleeding sacrifice
> Vnto the Soule of thy dead Country *Rome.*
> Why sleepest thou *Cassius*? wake thee from thy dreame:
> And yet thou naught dost dreame but blood and death.

As soon as the murder is accomplished, she foretells its tragic consequences (ll. 1767 ff.):

> *Brutus* thou hast what long desire hath sought,
> *Caesar* Lyes weltring in his purple Goare,
> Thou art the author of *Romes* liberty
> Proud in thy murthering hand and bloody knife.
> Yet thinke *Octauian* and sterne *Anthony*
> Cannot let passe this murther unreuenged . . .
> Thus from thine ashes Caesar doth arise
> As from *Medeas* haples scatered teeth
> New flames of wars, and new outragious broyles.

Not till this prophecy finds its bloody realization on the field of Philippi does she, like Andrea's Ghost, descend to the underworld, gloating over the gruesome spectacle of her victims (ll. 2531 ff.):

> I, now my longing hopes haue their desire,[1]
> The world is nothing but a massie heape
> Of bodys slayne, the Sea a lake of blood . . .
> *Caron* that vsed but an old rotten boate
> Must nowe a nauie rigg for to transport
> The howling soules vnto the *Stigian* strond.

It was not difficult to reproduce this part of the machinery of *The Spanish Tragedie*, and thus to give a somewhat mechanical unity to the chronicle-history play. But other more subtle imitations of Kyd are woven into the inmost texture of *Caesars Reuenge.* Through the 'blood and sorrow' of *The Spanish Tragedie* there runs a love-story of which Belimperia, the niece of the King of Spain, is the centre. She is

[1] Cf. *Spanish Tragedie*, IV. v. 1–2:

> I, now my hopes haue end in their effects,
> When blood and sorrow finnish my desires.

first betrothed to Andrea, and after his death in battle she is wooed both by Prince Balthazar who slew him, and by Horatio, the son of the Knight-marshal Hieronimo. Her brother Lorenzo favours the prince's suit, and when she gives her preference to Horatio he murders him. Reminiscences of this fictitious romance colour the Oxford dramatist's presentation of history. Thus, when Pompey takes leave of his wife Cornelia, before going to his death on the Egyptian shore, he uses words that echo Andrea's description of his passion for Bel-imperia (ll. 376–9):

Tis for thy weale and safty of thy life,
Whose safty I preferre before the world,
Because I loue thee more then all the world,
That thou (sweete loue) should'st heere remaine behinde.[1]

Sempronius, who is suborned to kill the refugee general on his landing, does it from the self-same crudely mercenary motives as Pedringano, one of Lorenzo's criminal agents (ll. 669–70):

Tis for no shadowes I aduenture for:
Heere are the Crownes, heere are the worldly goods.[2]

What is far more remarkable, Antony, instead of returning to Rome after Pharsalia, as Appian and the other authorities relate, is made to accompany Caesar to Egypt, that he may be portrayed as his unsuccessful rival for the love of Cleopatra, exactly after the model of Balthazar at the Spanish Court. Thus, while Caesar and the queen are interchanging their fervid vows, Antony gives voice to his hopeless passion in murmured asides (ll. 582–7):

On thy perfection let me euer gaze,
And eyes now learne to treade a louers maze,
Heere may you surfet with delicious store,
The more you see, desire to looke the more:
Vpon her face a garden of delite,
Exceeding far *Adonis* fayned Bowre.

When the dictator and the queen set forth for Alexandria, he follows them with a sentimental cry borrowed from the lips of the 'Portingal' prince (ll. 604–6):

[1] Cf. *Spanish Tragedie*, II. vi. 5–6.
[2] Cf. *Ibid.* III. iii. 5–6.

Led with the lode-starre of her lookes, I go
As crazed Bark is toss'd in trobled Seas,
Vncertaine to ariue in wished port.[1]

In a later scene he is so engrossed in preying upon Cleopatra's face, that even Caesar's words fall on his ears unheard (ll. 922 ff.):

Caes. Winde we then *Anthony* with this Royall Queene,
This day weele spend in mirth and banqueting.
Antho. Had I Queene Iunos heard-mans hundred eies,
To gaze vpon these two bright Sunnes of hirs,
Yet would they all be blinded instantly.
Caes. What hath some Melancholy discontent,
Ore-come thy minde with trobled passions?
Antho. Yet being blinded with the Sunny beames,
Her beauties pleasing colours would restore
Decayed sight with fresh variety?
Lord. Lord *Anthony* what meanes this trobled minde?
Caesar inuites thee to the royall feast,
That faire Queene *Cleopatra* hath prepard.
Antho. Pardon me worthy *Caesar* and you Lords
In not attending your most gratious speech:
Thoughts of my Country, and returne to *Rome*,
Som-what distempered my busy head.

Thus, even when Caesar has shaken off the 'womanish likes' that bound him in Egypt and Antony has returned to Rome in his train, his thoughts still turn disconsolately to the East (ll. 1234–9):

Like as the Ship-man that hath lost the starre
By which his doubtfull ship he did direct,
Wanders in darkenes, and in Cloudy night,
So hauing lost my starr, my Gouernesse,
Which did direct me with her Sonne-bright ray,
In greefe I wander, and in sad dismay.

Even the festivities that celebrate the victorious army's return only feed his melancholy (ll. 1297 ff.):

Alas these triumphes mooue not me at all,
But only do renew remembrance sad
Of her triumphing and imperious lookes,
Which is the Saint and Idoll of my thoughtes.

[1] Cf. *Spanish Tragedie*, III. x. 106-9.

It needs the supernatural intervention of his 'bonus genius' to rouse him from his sentimental brooding (ll. 1311 ff.):

> *Anthony*, base female *Anthony*,
> Thou womans souldiar, fit for nights assaults,
> Hast thou so soone forgot the discipline,
> And wilsome taskes thy youth was trayned to? . . .
> And now so soone hath on enchanted face,
> These manly labours held in drowsy sleepe:
> The Gods (whose messenger I heere do stand)
> Will not then drowne thy fame in idlenesse:
> Yet must *Philippi* see thy high exploytes,
> And all the world ring of thy victories.

Thus closes this curious episode, in which the dramatist antedates Antony's passion for the queen, and makes him an unsuccessful rival of Caesar for her favours. In introducing it, he not only, as has been seen, goes counter to Appian, but ignores Plutarch's magnificent picture, whose effect even Shakespeare could do little to heighten, of the historical first meeting of the pair after the defeat of the conspirators at Philippi. It is safe to say that Antony would never have appeared in this fantastic rôle had not Balthazar sighed in vain for Bel-imperia.

Even after the warning by his 'bonus genius', he does not escape from the influence of *The Spanish Tragedie*, for, in a sense, he changes the part of Balthazar for that of Hieronimo. Caesar is stabbed to death by the conspirators in a scene (ll. 1693 ff.) so short and huddled that it may reasonably be supposed to have come down in imperfect form. Antony thereupon enters with a speech reminiscent of the Knight-marshal's lamentation over his murdered son. As the youthful Horatio is apostrophized by his father (*Spanish Tragedie*, II. vi. 47):

> Sweet louely Rose, ill pluckt before thy time,

so Antony inappropriately addresses the war-worn dictator (l. 1749):

> Fayre bud of fame ill cropt before thy time,

and, after swearing revenge, goes out absurdly 'with Caesar in his armes', merely because Hieronimo, as is natural, bears his son's body away.

Like the marshal also, he is dilatory in fulfilling his vow. But here the resemblance ends, and the situation that arises is akin to that in another of the 'revenge' plays, the pre-Shakespearian *Hamlet*. Enmity springs up between Antony and Octavian, Caesar's great-nephew and adopted 'son'. The dictator's ghost rises from the underworld to chide the rivals,

> Which seeke through discord and discentious broyles
> T' imbrue their weapons in each others blood,
> And leaue to execute my iust reuenge.

Do we not seem to hear the voice of Hamlet in his mother's closet, as Octavian cries (ll. 2055–8):

> O see how terrible my Fathers lookes!
> My haire stands stiffe to see his greisly hue:
> Alasse I deare not looke him in the face,
> And words do cleaue to my benummed Iawes:

and as Antony confesses that he is letting pass—

> their treason vnrevenged
> That Caesars life and glory both did end?

But even in ghostly form Caesar retains his old activity, and not content with rebuking those who are slow to avenge him, he appears to Brutus before Philippi to denounce him as 'Accursed traytor, damned *Homicide*,' and on the field of battle itself follows him relentlessly, till he cries in anguish (ll. 2503–5):

> What doest thou still persue me vgly fend,
> Is this it that thou thirsted for so much?
> Come with thy tearing clawes and rend it out:

and stabs himself to glut the mouths of the hounds of hell (ll. 2521–5):

> O tis the soule that they stand gaping for,
> And endlesse matter for to prey vpon
> Renewed still as *Titius*[1] pricked heart.
> Then clap your hands, let Hell with Ioy resound!
> Heere it comes flying through this aery round.

The younger Cato, Cassius, and Titinius already lie dead upon the field, and now that his 'reueng is full accomplished' the Ghost disappears amid final echoes from *The Spanish Tragedie*:

[1] *Sic* in Quartos for *Titans*.

I will descend to mine eternall home,
Where euerlastingly my quiet soule
The sweet *Elysium* pleasure shall inioy.

Caesars Reuenge is thus of peculiar interest as the first University play in which we can trace deliberate imitation of dramas produced on the professional London stage. In the main, the new venture was not a success. The play shows some ingenuity of invention, and rhetorical fluency, especially in the speeches of Cassius. But it is destitute of the merits of the best academic tragedies without counterbalancing gain. It has neither a well-knit plot nor any genuine sense of elevated style. On the other hand, though the author played 'the sedulous ape' to Kyd and Marlowe, he caught nothing of the inner secret of their art. Gager and Grimald, though they wrote in Latin, were really nearer to them respectively than this frank appropriator of their words and situations.

And it was the ill-fortune of the Trinity dramatist that, within a few years of the probable date of production of his play, an even greater than Kyd or Marlowe happened to choose the same subject. Shakespeare apparently knew that Julius Caesar had been the theme of an Oxford or Cambridge dramatist, or he would scarcely have written the scrap of dialogue between Hamlet and Polonius which fills the pause before the play-scene (III. ii. 103–10):

Ham. My lord, you played once i' the university, you say?
Pol. That did I, my lord: and was accounted a good actor?
Ham. What did you enact?
Pol. I did enact Julius Caesar: I was killed i' the Capitol; Brutus killed me.

But it would be unsafe to assume that the reference is to *Caesars Reuenge*, which was not printed till some years after the production of *Hamlet*, and in which Caesar is not 'killed i' the Capitol' but (in accordance with historical fact) in Pompey's court (l. 1692) in the Campus Martius. However this may be, the unlearned professional playwright who blundered about the place of the dictator's assassination, and a score of more trivial details, created by the penetrative and plastic force of

his genius the supreme tragedy on Julius Caesar, which in its lucidity, its monumental union of passion and repose, is classical in a far deeper sense than even the highest achievements of the academic stage.

Whatever may have been the exact date of *Caesars Reuenge*, plays at Trinity appear to have been acted only from time to time. But at St. John's they were a permanent feature of the College life. Between 1586/7 and 1598/9 there is a gap in the extant bursars' books. But from the latter year to the end of the reign the accounts give evidence of the production both of plays and more informal shows. Thus £3 5*s.* 9*d.* was spent on 'a comedie and a tragedye publickely acted' on February 23, 24, 1598/9, 'alowed by M^r President and the officers.' In the third term of 1601/2 £3 12*s.* 4*d.* was 'alowed by the howse toward the Tragedye ouer and aboue iiij^l put on the students heads'. Here, as in February 1581/2, expenses were shared between the College as a whole and individual members of it. Accounts do not always seem to have been settled punctually, for under 1603/4 there appears the item 'allowed to Henry Harbart for vizards and other furnitur for a play 1601 in full paiment . . . x^s'.

Besides these heavier disbursements for tragedies and comedies, smaller sums were spent on more miscellaneous entertainments. In the second term of 1598/9, 18^d was given to the scholars 'for the chardges of the sporte on Twelfnight', and on the same occasion 2*s.* 6*d.* was paid to Tuer and Groome. In the second term of 1600/1, 2*s.* 6*d.* was given 'to the schollers towards their chardges in the Enterlude'. In the first term of 1602/3, 3*s.* 6*d.* was paid 'to the Acto^rs for y^e chargesse in y^e wassel', and in the second term 5*s.* was allowed 'toward y^e Shewe att Newyeares tide'.

One of these lighter St. John's pieces has fortunately been preserved. It is headed in the MS. 'A Twelfe Night Merriment. Anno 1602', but from its subject has been entitled *Narcissus* by its modern editor.[1] The merriment affects to be performed by 'youths of the parish' (l. 8) admitted into the College hall by the Porter. But though

[1] Miss Margaret L. Lee, who printed the piece from Rawlinson MSS. Poet. 212, in 1893, with a valuable Introduction and notes.

townsfolk did at times give rough-and-ready performances before their academic neighbours, they could not have produced a piece which, though an after-supper entertainment, is based on the story of 'Ovids owne Narcissus', as related in the *Metamorphoses*, Book III, and is evidently the work of a scholar humorist. Nor would a genuine 'parish' production have been preceded by a dialogue between the actors and the Porter, in which the latter worthy is free with tags of Latin. All this is part of the burlesque atmosphere of the piece.

And it may be safely said that real Oxford townsfolk would never have spoken such a prologue to their play as the following (ll. 123–9):

> Wee are no vagabones, wee are no arrant
> Rogues that doe runne with plaies about the country.
> Our play is good, & I dare farther warrant
> It will make you more sport then catt in plum tree.
> Wee are no saucye common playenge skipiackes,
> But towne borne lads, the kings owne loveing subiects.

Here, though in humorous guise, is another attack by a University playwright upon the professional stage, and the touring companies in particular. It is in a similar spirit that in the epilogue he makes the Porter exclaim (l. 751):

> I have seene a far better play at the theater.

It is characteristic of a Porter's taste that he should prefer the productions of 'playenge skipiackes' to an academic piece acted in a College hall.

But whether or not the author of *Narcissus* himself visited 'the theater', he seems to have been as well acquainted with contemporary dramatic literature as the writer of *Caesars Reuenge*. 'O eyes noe eyes' (l. 301) is borrowed from *The Spanish Tragedie*, III. ii. 1, and there is a running fire of phrases from *1 King Henry IV*, of which quartos had appeared in 1598 and 1599.[1]

> Ah, the poore rascall, never ioyd it since

(l. 422) is a metrical version of 'poor fellow! never joyed since' (*1 King Henry IV*, II. i. 13), and 'kee pickpurse' (l. 575) is an echo of 'quoth pickpurse' in l. 53 of the same

[1] Cf. Margaret L. Lee, *op. cit.*, xxvi.

scene. From Scene iv of the same Act, come 'ladds of metall' (l. 78), 'no vertue extant' (l. 80), and 'tickle for' (l. 111). And when Narcissus speaks of (ll. 735–6)

> my grandam
> Surnamde old earth,

he is borrowing from Hotspur (*1 King Henry IV*, III. i. 34), while Mortimer's 'monstrous cantle', later in the same scene, suggests the burlesque use of 'little cantle' (l. 282).

And it can scarcely be doubted that the St. John's writer knew also *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, of which at least one quarto edition had appeared in 1600. The points of resemblance between *Narcissus* and the interlude of Pyramus and Thisbe seem too remarkable to be due merely to coincidence. They are both dramatic burlesques of stories from the *Metamorphoses*, read by the Oxford playwright in the original, and by Shakespeare in Golding's translation. In each case the performers are supposed to be a set of bumpkins, 'youths of the parish' and 'rude mechanicals', clumsily trying to entertain a fastidious audience of scholars or courtiers. Hence they introduce themselves in their fictitious characters and explain the meaning of their symbolical costumes with ridiculous *naïveté*. Cephisus and Lyriope address their son Narcissus in this wise—for the benefit of the spectators (ll. 140-9):

Cep. Thy father, I, Cephisus that brave river,
Who is all water, doe like water shiver
As any man of iudgement may descrye
By face, hands washt, & bowle, thy father I.
Lyr. And I thy mother nimphe, as may be seene
By colours that I weare, blew, white, & greene;
For nimphes ar of the sea, & sea is right
Of colour truly green & blew & white;
Would you knowe how, I pray? Billowes are blew,
Water is greene, & foome is white of hue.

The blind prophet, Tiresias, who foretells correctly Narcissus's fate, is bent upon at once taking the audience into the secret of his disguise (ll. 180–5):

> All you that see mee heere in byshoppes rochett,
> And I see not, your heads may runne on crotchett,

For ought I knowe, to knówe what manner wight
In this strange guise I am, or how I hight;
I am Tyresias, the not seeing prophett.

This seems almost an echo of the opening of Peter Quince's prologue:

Gentles, perchance you wonder at this show,
But wonder on, till truth make all things plain:

followed by his presentation of each of the characters to the spectators. These include not only the lovers, but Wall acted by Snout 'with lime and rough-cast', and Moonshine by another of the mechanicals 'with lanthorn, dog, and bush of thorn'. In a similar spirit of mock realism, though there is no personification, the Well in which Narcissus sees himself is represented by 'a buckett', which an actor carries in, and round which he 'strawes' grass, sprinkles water, and sets down boughs, to symbolize details in Ovid's description of the spot. As he informs the audience (ll. 506–11):

And thus least you should have mistooke it,
The truth of all I to you tell.
Suppose you the well had a buckett,
And so the buckett stands for the well;
And 'tis, least you shoulde counte mee for a sot O,
A very pretty figure cald *pars pro toto.*

So, too, Narcissus's metamorphosis after his death is symbolized in the most literal way (ll. 736–9):

For if you take mee for Narcissus y^e^ are very sillye,
I desire you to take mee for a daffa downe dillye;
For so I rose, & so I am in trothe,
As may appeare by the flower in my mouthe.

Apart from their similar burlesque handling of stage conventions, *Narcissus* and *Pyramus and Thisbe* parody identical extravagances of style and diction. The farcical alliteration which runs through the interlude is found also in the Oxford play, as in l. 238,

But dolefull dumpes, decay, death & destruction;

or l. 647,

Thou huge & humminge humblebee, thou hornett.

There is the same 'inversion of epithets, producing nonsensical combinations'.[1] Thus *M. N. D.*, v. i. 337–9:

> These lily lips,
> This cherry nose
> These yellow cowslip cheeks

has its counterpart in ll. 341–2:

> O thou whose cheeks are like the skye so blewe,
> Whose nose is rubye, of the sunnelike hue.

And this is outdone by ll. 360–1:

> So cruell as the huge camelion,
> Nor yet so changing as small elephant.

The names of classical personages are similarly introduced in mangled form or in absurd connexion. When Narcissus, quoting from Terence, tells a maiden who is apostrophizing him as 'most brightest Hasparus',

> O, Oedipus I am not, I am Davus;

she retorts,

> Good Master Davis, bee not so discourteous.

And therewith she and a sister nymph assail his reluctant ears with protestations (ll. 408–11):

> *Flo.* As true as Helen was to Menela
> So true to thee will bee thy Florida.
> *Clo.* As was to trusty Pyramus truest Thisbee
> So true to you will ever thy sweete Clois bee.

The writer of these lines can scarcely not have known *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, v. i. 198–201.

> *Pyr.* And, like Limander, am I trusty still.
> *This.* And I like Helen, till the fates me kill.
> *Pyr.* Not Shafalus to Procrus was so true.
> *This.* As Shafalus to Procrus, I to you.

But while the St. John's writer almost certainly owed something to Shakespeare, he is far from being merely an imitator. His pungent wit, his remarkable dexterity in the manipulation of metre and rhyme, and his scholarly gift of translation give his work an individual savour. And in his adaptation of

[1] Margaret L. Lee, *op. cit.*, xxvii.

Ovid's story for stage-purposes he shows genuine skill. About two hundred lines of the *Metamorphoses*, iii. 360–510, are expanded into over six hundred in English. The three or four hexameters in which Tiresias informs Liriope that her son will have long life 'si se non noverit', give the hint for the amusing opening scene of over 130 lines, in which the parents of Narcissus lie in wait for the wandering prophet and get him to tell the youth's fortune. Cephisus introduces his wife and child to the seer in a *tour de force* of double rhymes:

> Though with the dawbe of prayse I am loath to lome her,
> This Ile assure you, the blind poett Homer
> Saw not the like amongst his nimphes and goddesses,
> Nor in his Iliads, no, nor in his Odysses. . . .
> The purple hew of this our iolly striplynge
> I would not have you thinke was gott with tiplinge,
> Hee is our sonne Narcisse, no common varlete,
> Nature in graine hath died his face in skarlete.

Tiresias, who foretells the stripling's fate from the 'table' of his hand, is equally adept at rhyming:

> Heere, in the hillocke of great Jupiter
> Mounsieur la mors lyes lurking like a sheppbiter.

The only 'medicine' against this 'dire disaster' is 'if hee himselfe doe never knowe'. Such a paradoxical warning moves Liriope's scorn:

> Yet I bethinke at Delph
> One Phibbus walls is written: Knowe thyselfe.
> Shall he not know himselfe, and so bee laught on,
> When as Apollo cries, gnotti seauton?

In the 184 lines that follow, 269–453, the playwright gives himself an even freer hand. Ovid had written of Narcissus (*Met.* iii. 353–5 and 402–5):

> Multi illum iuuenes, multae cupiere puellae;
> Sed fuit in tenera tam dura superbia forma,
> Nulli illum iuuenes, nullae tetigere puellae . . .
> Sic hanc, sic alias undis aut montibus ortas
> Luserat hic nymphas, sic coetus ante viriles.
> Inde manus aliquis despectus ad aethera tollens
> 'Sic amet ipse licet, sic non potiatur amato!' . . .

This is the slender basis of the scenes in which the swains

Dorastus and Clinias, and the nymphs Florida and Clois are in turn repelled by the disdainful youth, and afterwards mingle their woes.

When Echo appears and, in violation of her own nature, introduces herself to the audience (ll. 454–73), she for the most part puts Ovid's description of her (*l. c.* 357–69) into an English dress. So, too, her dialogue with Narcissus (ll. 602–32), in which she repeats the last syllables of his utterances, is a version of the Ovidian lines 379–92. But between these scenes about 100 lines are interpolated, for which the only hint given in the Latin poem is that Echo became enamoured of the youth when he was hunting, and had become separated from his companions. Whilst cries of 'Yolp! Yolpe' are heard 'within', Narcissus, Dorastus, and Clinias appear upon the stage, singing a lusty hunting chorus.[1] They then go forth, and after a time Dorastus reappears alone, calling for Clinias, while Echo mocks his words from within; then Clinias is similarly mocked, and the two swains angrily pursue each other, like Lysander and Demetrius when gulled by Puck in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, III. ii. 401–30, which the Oxford playwright must here have had in mind, though the episode here ends in a burlesque death-scene.

It is in the climax of the story that the interlude follows the original most closely. The description of the well, in which Narcissus sees his face reflected, is a verbal rendering of the *Metamorphoses*, iii, ll. 407–12, and the melodious flow of the verse proves that the writer was not merely an adept in comic effects:

> A well there was withouten mudd,
> Of silver hue, with waters cleare,

[1] Miss Lee, *op. cit.*, xxiii, is mistaken in her view that, during the song, Narcissus and his companions 'chase a supposed hare over the stage'. The hunting of 'little Watt' is supposed to be taking place 'within'. In an earlier play of *Narcissus*, presented at Court by William Hunnis, Master of the Children of the Chapel, on Twelfth Night 1571/2, the chase actually took place, as at Christ Church in 1566 (see *supra*, p. 103), outside the hall of the palace. The Revels accounts mention a payment of 21*s.* 8*d.* for 'Leashes, & Doghookes, *with* staves & other necessaries . . . provyded for the hunters that made the crye after the fox (let loose in the Coorte) with theier howndes, hornes and hallowing in the playe of narcisses'. Cf. Feuillerat, *Documents*, 141 and 145; and Wallace, *The Evolution of the English Drama*, 124 and 213.

Whome neither sheepe that chowe the cudd,
Shepheardes nor goates came ever neare;
Whome, truth to say, nor beast nor bird,
Nor windfalls yet from trees had stirrde.

So, too, the youth's lovesick monologue, as he gazes on his own image, is a faithful though slightly condensed version of *Metamorphoses*, iii. 416–61. If it does not reproduce the exquisite artifice of the original, it has an ironical undercurrent of its own. Ovid represents Narcissus as at last realizing that it is of himself that he has become enamoured. To show this on the stage would have been hazardous, and the playwright tactfully passes it over. He cuts short, too, the death-pangs of the beautiful youth, and ends, as has been seen, on an appropriately burlesque note, by symbolizing his metamorphosis through 'a daffa downe dillye' in the actor's mouth.

The writer of this short 'merriment' shows such true talent that we regret he cannot be identified. But it is significant that his treatment of an Ovidian story was so radically different from that of Gager some twenty years previously. The Christ Church dramatist had taken from the *Metamorphoses* the tale of Meleager, and had wrought it into a lyrical tragedy on neo-Senecan lines. The St. John's writer went to the same source for the story of Narcissus, but he burlesqued it in the vernacular, in a fashion probably inspired by, and certainly akin to, that of Shakespeare in the Pyramus and Thisbe interlude, which also is derived (through Golding) from the *Metamorphoses*. Though the University stage was to win some of its most notable triumphs under the first two Stewart kings, and though, almost contemporaneously with the production of *Narcissus* at Oxford, the author of the *Parnassus* trilogy was inveighing at Cambridge against the 'glorious vagabonds' of the popular theatres, the day was clearly gone by when academic drama could sit disdainfully apart, withdrawing her skirts from the unhallowed touch of her London sister, whom she had denounced as venal and base-born.

CHAPTER XII

MORE ITALIANATE PLAYS AT CAMBRIDGE

IT is somewhat curious that, between the group of Cambridge plays ranging from 1577 to 1581 and the next extant group of which the dates and places of performance can be verified, there is an interval of more than a dozen years. During this period the Italian influences had strengthened their hold on the Cambridge stage, for the Latin academic plays of the last decade of the sixteenth century are, for the most part, versions of Italian originals, or fashioned on the southern model.

Most of them are comedies, but a tragedy, *Roxana*, acted at Trinity College about 1592, gained for its author, William Alabaster, a reputation beyond his deserts.[1] The play, having lain in manuscript for about forty years, was printed in 1632 by R. Badger for Andrew Crook, and described as 'summa cum diligentia ad castigatissimum exemplar conparata'. Thereupon, Alabaster at once issued through William Jones another edition 'a plagiarij vnguibus vindicata, aucta & agnita ab authore', with a preface containing the statement 'ante quadraginta plus minus annos, morticinium hoc edidi duarum hebdomadarum abortum, et vnius noctis spectaculo destinatum'.[2] But while indignant at his youthful work being 'plagiarized' by its first publisher, he omits to mention that it

[1] Alabaster, who entered Trinity from Westminster in 1583, and proceeded M.A. at Oxford in July 1592, was successively chaplain to the Earl of Essex on the Cadiz expedition and (after a period of conversion to Roman Catholicism) Prebendary of St. Paul's and Rector of Tharfield. His *Elisеis*, a Latin 'heroick song' on the Queen, is highly praised by Spenser in *Colin Clouts come Home Againe*.

[2] This edition has a remarkable title-page, with eight small woodcuts, one of which represents a theatrical performance, with spectators in front of the stage and in the gallery. The action is taking place on the outer stage, which is divided from the inner by a traverse. The scene cannot be identified, so far as I can see, with any of the episodes in *Roxana*.

is merely a condensed Latin version of *La Dalida* by Luigi Groto, published at Venice in 1567. It is a capital instance of the contemporary view on literary copyright, and had Dr. Johnson, with his downright attitude on questions of conduct, known all the facts he would probably have hesitated to pay a compliment to Alabaster's Latinity.[1]

In any case, no graces of style could redeem a plot which outdoes even *Titus Andronicus* in its accumulation of the crudest horrors. Moleo, king of Bactria, has been murdered by his nephew Oromasdes, who, though married to the Indian princess Atossa, has an intrigue with Moleo's daughter, Roxana, by whom he has two children. Atossa is beloved by the councillor Bessus, who, to gain her favour, reveals the secret of the king's intrigue, and brings Roxana and her children into her presence. After a hypocritical welcome, she has Roxana flogged till she kills her children and afterwards herself. Meanwhile, Oromasdes overhears Bessus boasting of his conquest of Atossa, and has him executed. The queen invites her husband to a birthday feast, where she puts before him the remains of Roxana and her children, and he retaliates with the head of Bessus. Finally, they murder each other with poisoned flowers.

This gruesome story, which, unlike Calfhill's adaptation of Corraro's *Progne* for the Christ Church stage in 1566,[2] has not even the excuse of being based on a genuine classical story, is decked out with every device in the Senecan convention. The *dramatis personae* include a Ghost, the allegorical figures of Mors and Suspicio, a Nuncius, and a moralizing Chorus of the queen's attendants. All these are taken over from *La Dalida* by Alabaster, but he cuts down or omits some of the interminable soliloquies and dialogues, especially in Acts II, III, and V. On the other hand, he makes a few additions, of which the most notable is the description in Act IV. i of the lonely building where Roxana

[1] After quoting with approval a statement 'that Milton was the first Englishman who, after the revival of letters, wrote Latin verses with classical elegance', he adds, 'If we produced anything worthy of notice before the elegies of Milton, it was perhaps Alabaster's *Roxana*.' *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, I. 87–8.

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 104.

meets her doom. The sombre power of this passage suggests that with worthier material Alabaster might have written a notable academic tragedy, and earned a better title to Fuller's panegyric on him as 'a most rare Poet as any our Age or Nation hath produced'. The soundest critic of *Roxana* was the nameless 'gentlewoman' who, we are assured,[1] 'fell distracted' upon seeing it performed 'and never after recovered her senses'.[2]

[1] Fuller, *Worthies*, ed. Nichols, ii. 343. 'I had it from an Author whose credit it is sin with me to suspect.'

[2] Mention may here be briefly made of several other Senecan tragedies on Oriental themes, which are extant in MS., but which cannot be definitely associated with the University stage. An analysis of their contents is given by Professors Churchill and Keller in the Shakespeare *Jahrbuch*, xxxiv. 241–9. *Herodes* (Camb.Univ. Lib. MSS., Mm. I. 24), by William Goldingham, Fellow of Trinity Hall, 1571, deals with Herod the Great's imprisonment of his son Antipater for an attempt to murder him, with the suicide of Antipater and his mother, and Herod's remorse. The series of calamities is represented as the working out of the avenging curse of the *Umbra* of Mariamne. The tragedy, which is dedicated to Lord Buckhurst, is not quite complete in the MS., and it is uncertain whether it was acted, and if so, where. Trinity Hall does not seem to have been a theatrical centre.

Solymannidae (Lansdowne MS. 723, ff. 43–63) was probably acted in March 1581 [?1581/2], a date which is entered below the list of *dramatis personae*. But there is nothing to show where it was performed. The tragedy, like *Herodes*, deals with the enmity of a royal father towards his son. Solymannus (Solyman the Great) is jealous of his heir, Mustapha, who wishes to marry the daughter of the King of Tartary. His fears are fanned by his queen Rhode, who wishes to secure the throne for her own son Selymus, but Mustapha has an advocate in the 'bassa' Hybrachymus. Rhode, however, craftily undermines the bassa's position, and then procures his execution. This is followed by the assassination of Mustapha on a throne in his father's palace by eunuchs, though Solymannus when it is too late tries to revoke the fatal order. The prince's brother, Ganger, in his grief, kills himself over his body.

Tomumbeius (Rawlinson MS. Poet. 75) contains a poetical address to Elizabeth, and therefore must have been written during her reign. As, however, it is merely described as 'Tragoedia noua auctore Georgio Salterno Bristoënsi', it does not seem to be a University play. It deals with the tragic fate of Tuman Bey, Sultan of Egypt, 1516, who lost his throne and life through his own weakness, and the treachery of his subjects.

Of greater interest than these semi-historical oriental plays are two tragedies: *Perfidus Hetruscus* (Rawlinson MS. C. 787) and *Fatum Vortigerni* (Lansdowne MS. 723, ff. 1–42b). The plot of the former, dealing with imaginary episodes in the royal house of Tuscany, has points of resemblance to that of *Hamlet*. The latter is based on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, VI. v–VIII. ii. As nothing is known of their authorship, provenance, or date (though one scene in *Fatum Vortigerni* seems to have echoes of the ghosts' 'despair and die' in *Richard III*, v. iii) I have not dealt with them. An analysis of their contents is given in the *Jahrbuch, loc. cit.*, 250–2 and 258–64.

The Italian stage had, however, better things to lend to Cambridge dramatists than *La Dalida*. In the Queens' College comedy *Laelia* one of the masterpieces of southern renaissance comedy was transplanted to the academic boards. The play was almost certainly acted, as has been recently shown,[1] before the Earl of Essex and other noblemen during a visit to Cambridge at the Bachelors' Commencement which was held on February 28, 1594/5. 'Most of them were entertayned at Trinity Coll: where they had two comedyes & a Tragydy, y^e^ w^ch^ wear the causes of ther coming downe.' But further dramatic entertainment was provided for them, for on March 1, the day after the Commencement, they 'went to Dyner to Queenes Coll: wher after Dyner they had a Comedy, the day being turned into night'. Various lines of evidence indicate that this comedy was *Laelia*.

One of the two speakers in the Prologue, Panneus, a stuff-gowned University man, refers to the chief spectators as 'illustrissimi heroes'. When Sericus, the silk-clad courtier, reproves him for appearing 'cum istoc ornatu . . . coram principibus viris', he retorts—

> Tenebrio, patrium hoc vellus summo in pretio est
> Nunc apud principes viros.

This is to be interpreted as an allusion to the acceptance by a number of the noblemen of the M.A. degree on the previous day, and of their appearance in academical dress.

Later in the year, on November 17, the anniversary of Elizabeth's accession, Essex produced before her a Device, concerning which Rowland Whyte wrote to Sir Robert Sidney: 'Thold man was he that in Cambridge plaied Giraldy, Morley plaied the Secretary, and he that plaied Pedantiq was the soldier and Toby Matthews acted the Squires part.' As Giraldy and Pedantiq apparently correspond to Gerardus and the pedant Petrus, two of the characters in *Laelia*, the allusion

[1] By G. C. Moore Smith, in the Introduction to his edition of *Laelia* from the only known MS., in Lambeth Palace Library. The paragraphs in my text concerning the date of the play are an abstract of the arguments by its editor in favour of this date rather than the autumn of 1598, after Essex had become Chancellor of the University, as indicated by Fuller in his *History of the University of Cambridge*. See also *Mod. Lang. Rev.* VI. iii. 382–3.

supports the view that the play was acted at a date previous to the Earl's Device. Essex was evidently so favourably impressed by two of the Queens' College performers that he secured them to appear on 'Queen's day' before Elizabeth.[1] This is confirmed by the opening lines of an epigram of John Weever, himself a member of the College, addressed to George Meriton and George Mountaine, both Fellows of Queens', which proves that they were the Cambridge actors referred to by Whyte:

> Your entertaine (nor can I passe away)
> Of Essex with farre-famed *Laelia*;
> Nor fore the Queen your seruice on Queens day.

Meriton and Mountaine, who afterwards became respectively Dean and Archbishop of York, may perhaps have written the play as well as acted in it. But in the absence of further evidence it may be dealt with as the product of a single pen.

Had *Laelia* been an original work, or even, like *Hymenaeus*, an adaptation of a novel, its author would stand in the front rank of academic playwrights. As it is, his credit is mainly that of a skilful translator, who, however, was able to add refining touches to an already admirable plot, and to elaborate features in it that would appeal specially to a University audience. *Laelia* is a version, at second hand, of the Italian prose comedy *Gl' Ingannati*, acted at Siena, before the 'Accademia de Gli Intronati', in 1531, and printed at least as early as 1538. The 'Prologo' claims that the play was composed by the Intronati in three days and that its plot was new. It was the story of the complications due to the confusion between a girl disguised in male attire and her brother, from whom she had been separated at the sack of Rome in 1527, which henceforth passed into European literature, and which in one of its forms became the main plot of *Twelfth Night*. *Gl' Ingannati* gives the story, in the main, the typical setting of southern comedy. The action takes place at Modena within the space of two days. Gherardo, the

[1] Tobie Matthew had acted Nais in Gager's additions to *Hippolytus* at Christ Church on March 8, 1591/2 (cf. *supra*, p. 246). Thus the performers in Essex's Device included representatives of both the Oxford and the Cambridge stage.

elderly wooer of Lelia, whose suit is favoured by her father Virginio; her nurse and confidant Clementia; the pedant Piero, who is the guardian of the heroine's brother Fabritio, and the gluttonous servant Stragualcia who accompanies them; the innkeepers who tout for the travellers' custom; and Giglio, the braggart Spaniard, are all stock renaissance figures. But the comedy is differentiated from others of its type by the romantic intensity of the heroine's passion for Flaminio, who had loved her before she had been sent for a year to an aunt's care, but who had transferred his affections to Isabella, daughter of Gherardo. Lelia's resolution to enter Flaminio's service in the disguise of a boy, and her embassies on his behalf to Isabella, produce of course the imbroglio, which is at first thickened, but finally resolved, by the appearance of Fabritio on the scene. The confusion of sex gives occasion for some coarsely outspoken passages, yet these do not mar the idyllic charm of the main love-story, which contrasts sharply with the cynical immorality of *Il Fedele*.

Unlike Fraunce, however, the author of *Laelia* did not draw directly from the Italian original. In 1543 Charles Estienne published a translation of *Gl' Ingannati*, entitled *Le Sacrifice*, and this was republished in 1549 and 1556 as *Les Abusez*. Estienne's version is in prose, and is otherwise a close rendering of the Italian, but he omits three scenes in which the braggart Giglio appears,[1] and he changes the names of several characters, in addition to some minor alterations. A comparison of *Laelia* and *Les Abusez* proves (as Prof. Moore Smith has shown) that in all these points they correspond, and that the French, not the Italian, comedy was the source of the Queens' College play.

But the Cambridge dramatist dealt more freely with Estienne's version than the Frenchman had ventured to do with the original. In the first place, like Fraunce, he turned the prose of *Les Abusez* into the verse of Roman comedy, and this meant the introduction into the dialogue of frequent echoes from Plautus and Terence. The substitution of Latin for

[1] II. iii; IV. vi; V. iv. They were the more easily omitted as in each case the scene was merely a dialogue between Giglio and Pasquella, a maid-servant.

French specially affected the treatment of one character, the Pedant, whom Estienne calls the Pedagogue, and the Cambridge dramatist Petrus. As has been shown in the case of Onofrio, in *Il Fedele*,[1] it is easy by the use of some classical tags to differentiate a pedant from the other characters in a vernacular comedy. But when every one speaks Latin the problem is more difficult. Fraunce solved it in *Victoria* by putting into the mouth of Onophrius out-of-the-way quotations from late Latin writers. The author of *Laelia* had apparently not quite so much of this miscellaneous learning at his finger-tips, but his treatment of the pedant is on similar lines. Petrus, who enters at the beginning of Act III, spouting the Virgilian

> Per uarios casus per tot discrimina rerum
> Tendimus in—Modenam,

interlards his conversation with familiar hexameters from Ovid, Horace, and other classical poets, and with scraps from Cicero's letters and speeches. Mingled with these are bits from the *Adagia* of Erasmus, and examples from Lily's *Brevissima Institutio, A shorte Introduction of Grammar.*

Not only, however, are the pedant's quotations in *Laelia* much more frequent and varied than those of his prototype in *Les Abusez*, but his part is elaborated generally and his pretentious ignorance and vanity more ruthlessly exposed. Thus the pedagogue in the French version asks his pupil:

'Ne vous souuient il pas de ce que dit Cantalitio? *Dulcis amor patria.*[2] Et Caton dit semblablement . *Pugna pro pataria.*[2] *In summa id est, hoc est, significat:* c'est à dire, tout autant, comme qui voudroit dire, il n'est chose plus douce ne plus plaisante que le païs.'

For this the Cambridge playwright substitutes the following hotch-potch of blunders (III. i. 34–43):

> Non dixi tibi aliquando quod habet
> Asconius Paedianus Trismegistus, antiquus author,
> Qui scripsit [de proelio] inter Centauros et Lapithas,
> De quibus Ouidius, in eo libro
> Qui inscribitur περι του μεταμορφωσεως,

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 143.
[2] Either misprints or blunders by the pedagogue.

Dulcis amor patriae, et Catonis illud
(Non Catonem Autochyrum dico, sed
Illum qui occidit se ipsum)
(Controuersum tractaui in coniectaneis meis criticis)
Significatque nihil patria esse dulcius?

Equally gross are Petrus's mistakes in a later passage in the same scene (ll. 103 ff.). Stragalcius excites his derision by taking Marcus Tullius Cicero to be more than one person, and Fabritius angrily forbids the servant to bandy words with the tutor. Thereupon Petrus exclaims:

Fabriti, verum illud est Homeri in crapsodia
Κωτιλῳ ανθρωπῳ σιγαν χαλεπωτατον αχθος.
Quem versum ego iuvenis sic verti,
Contra verbosum noli contendere verbis.
Quam difficile est docto descendere
Ad captum vnius ex plebe!
Fabr. Docuisti me olim Hesiodi esse.
Pet. Eodem res redit. non laborandum est de nominibus
Tanquam de lana caprina.
Praeteria Homerus et Hesiodus floruerunt eodem tempore
Vt author est Tacitus in Synephebis.

The references to Homer and Hesiod are part of Petrus's affectation of being deeply versed in Greek. He quotes later some Latin proverbs from the *Chiliades Adagiorum* of Erasmus, and adds (III. ii. 76–7):

Ipse consimilem librum editurus sum propediem,
Sed meum opus tantum e Grecorum fontibus derivabitur.

So, too, he hurls at Stragalcius the taunt 'Graecarum literarum rudis', and rejects with scorn the servant's description of him as a 'pedagogus' (III. ii. 54–7):

Pedagogi illi dicuntur qui in scholis sordide
Ex puerorum aurifodinis victum rimantur sibi,
Qui sunt nomine gramatici, re barbari.
Ego instructor generosorum in politiore literatura vocor.

In his anxiety to pose as the fashionable apostle of culture he is akin to Pedantius, and like him may have been partly drawn from a living Cambridge model. But the author of *Laelia* showed a peculiar economy of treatment, for he succeeded in making the pedagogue thoroughly ridiculous

without having recourse to the stock expedient of exhibiting him in love.

This elaboration of a feature of the play which would appeal specially to an academic audience was not at the expense of the main plot. The love-intrigue in *Les Abusez* was so ingenious and entertaining that it could not in essentials be bettered, but here, too, the tact and craftsmanship of the Cambridge dramatist heightened the effect. He cut away some detail that either was superfluous, or, as in Act IV. ii and vii, was unsuitable for a performance by young scholars. He strung up the somewhat sprawling prose of his French original into the closer, weightier texture of Latin comic verse. And more than once, at critical points, he broke an uninterrupted speech into breathless, poignant dialogue. Thus, when Lelia, in Act II. i, of *Les Abusez*, is exhorting Flaminius to give over his fruitless suit for the hand of Ysabelle, she cries:

'Ne le vous ay-ie pas desia dit tant de foys? que le plus grand plaisir que vous luy puissiez faire en ce monde, c'est de la laisser là, & ne penser plus à elle, car elle a tourné la fantasie ailleurs. Et pour conclusion elle ne vous scauroit plus mõstrer ne bon œil, ne bon semblant: & que vous y perdez & le temps & tout ce que vous y employez à la soliciter; car à la fin vous trouerez les mains pleines de vent.'

In *Laelia* (II. i. 21 ff.) this becomes transformed:

Fab.[1] Orat ne cogites se quae te ex animo deleuit suo.
Fla. Deleuit? miserum me! tu perge, Fabi.
Fab. Amorem alio vt conuertas.
Fla. Egone? Dij ne sirint.
Fab. Nam sibi decretum esse—
Fla. Ah decretum—quid Fabi?
Fab. Here, plus satis iam audiuisti.
Noli amplius quaerere.
Fla. Quod decretum est alloquere, vno vt ictu
Funditus experiar, et moriar semel.
Fab. Egone hoc faciam?
Fla. Quippeni? sum imperio tibi.
Fab. Quemcunque amaverit alium,—
Fla. Perge.
Fab. Flaminium nunquam amaturam.
Fla. O superi, Flaminium nunquam amaturam!

[1] Laelia disguised as Fabius.

And a moment afterwards the following lines, for which there is no hint in the French, are added:

Fla. Quid vis vt faciam? ego memet vt deseram?
Fab. Certe, edipol, here,
Ego vt te noscas, non deseras, velim.
Fla. Quomodo? an tibi forte sum notus
Melius quam mihi?
Fab. Vtinam non esses!

It is the same fine insight as is shown in such significant bits of dialogue that prompted the writer of *Laelia* to make the changes in the final scenes noted by the modern editor of the play. In *Gl' Ingannati* and *Les Abusez* Flaminio is told by the nurse, as if it concerned one of his friends, what Lelia has done for love of him. He swears that if it were his case, he would marry the girl. But when Lelia appears, and he is called upon to fulfil his vow, it is not till he has heard that Ysabelle is betrothed to Fabritio, and that Lelia is destined to marriage with Gerard, that he asks the heroine's forgiveness and offers himself to her. In the Latin comedy the nurse reveals the secret of her apologue before Lelia appears, and in an agony of self-reproach Flaminius turns to flee far from the haunts of men (v. iii. 85–7):

Vt vitem noxijs
Inimicam lucem, vrbem et aequales meos
Relinquam, in nemora ibo et recessus abditos.

Crivelus, the typical *servus*, will not follow him into the wilds:

Solus per me ibis. Criuelus malit esse domi.

But the disguised page, who enters at this moment, utters the cry of supreme devotion:

Manta, non ibis solus. Fabius vult herum sequi.

And then Flaminius, knowing what that cry really means, though he has not yet heard that Isabella is united to Fabritius, begs to be allowed to make again the offer of his love (v. iv. 8 ff.):

Fla. Ah Laelia!
Fab. Quid agis?
Fla. Culpae venia est, flagitio si esset itidem.

Fab. Quid si?
Fla. Ausim sperare.
. . . . . .
Ignoscis igitur mihi?
Fab. Quid ego ignoscam, cui nunquam displicuit dictum
Aut factum tuum?
Fla. Maius meum scelus est.
Fab. Nullum in me est nec esse volo.
Conuertere ad me, Flamini, si me ames.
Fla. Liceat mihi vt amem?
Fab. Quidni liceat si libet?

It is impossible to read such passages without feeling that the love-scenes between Flaminio and Lelia, enacted before the Intronati at Siena, are already half-transformed into those between Orsino and Viola which, on February 2, 1601/2, delighted the Middle Templars in their hall.

Is the line of descent direct? Probably, in the main, not. The points of correspondence between the main plot of *Twelfth Night* and Barnabe Riche's *Apolonius and Silla* are so striking that it is reasonable to suppose that the novel was Shakespeare's chief source. But apart from some minor coincidences, Sebastian's proposal to his companion to 'go see the reliques of this town', and the latter's mention of 'the Elephant' as the place where it is 'best to lodge' (*Twelfth Night*, IV. iii), appear to have been suggested by the talk of Fabritio and his tutor and the innkeepers (*Laelia*, III. i and ii); and Viola's tale to Orsino of the imaginary sister who 'never told her love' (*Twelfth Night*, II. iv) can scarcely have had its inspiration elsewhere than in the nurse's apologue to Flaminio. These episodes are common to the Italian, French, and Latin versions of the comedy, and it might plausibly be inferred that a copy of one of the editions of *Les Abusez* had fallen into Shakespeare's hands. But it is only in the Cambridge play that the heroine's speeches have that exquisite union of tenderness and gaiety, and that wealth of hidden meaning, which mark the utterances of Viola, who at the close, like Lelia, is prepared to go, at any risk,

After him I love
More than I love these eyes, more than my life.

Either Shakespeare knew of *Laelia* through some one in

Essex's retinue, or he and the Queens' College playwright developed the heroine's character on remarkably similar lines. However this may be, a comparison between *Twelfth Night* and *Laelia* is illuminating, and the advantage is not all on one side. Shakespeare turned the Italian tale of amorous cross-purposes to his own use at the moment when his lyrical and comic powers had reached their perfect balance, and he transfigured it into the golden idyll of love that will cast its spell 'to the last syllable of recorded time'. He mingled with the paler, more dream-like southern types, robuster, harder-grained figures of Teutonic stock, and created from this fusion the entrancing play that is the crown of Elizabethan romantic comedy. Yet the reader of *Laelia* will note that the heroine's brother Fabritius—who with his satellites, the pedant and the gluttonous *servus*, and the touting innkeepers, bulks large in the original plot—is dwarfed in Sebastian into a mere walking-gentleman, in whose marvellous good fortune little interest can be taken. Isabella, as the daughter of Gerardus, Lelia's elderly suitor, has a double relation to the love entanglements that is unknown to Olivia. Above all, the final union between the heroine and her master is far more plausible and dramatically satisfying in the Cambridge comedy. At the close of *Twelfth Night*, Orsino, after learning that Isabella and Sebastian are contracted, suddenly, and with a touch of condescension, offers his hand to Viola, whom till that moment he has known only as a boy. Flaminius, when he hears that his supposed page is the woman whom he had loved before his passion for Isabella began, pleads with trembling accents to be received again into grace. Here the writer of *Laelia* not only, as has been seen, improves upon *Les Abusez*, but appears to even greater advantage in comparison with Shakespeare himself. Indeed, it is not too much to say that this Latin version at second hand from the Sienese play, in its combination of delicate emotional insight with consummate technique, shows more fully the scope of neo-classic comedy than anything of Ben Jonson or Chapman, though the Cambridge dramatist, of course, shares the credit unequally with the Intronati.

Akin in many points to *Laelia* is *Siluanus,*[1] acted at St. John's on January 13, 1596/7, and probably based on an Italian play or novel hitherto unidentified. The love-complications are similar to those in the Queens' College comedy, but there is a pastoral element in the play that links it with *As You Like It* as well as with *Twelfth Night.*

Silvanus, a Sicilian youth, has fled to Mantua to avoid marriage with Panthia, who has followed him in masculine disguise, under the name of Erastus. In the opening scene Silvanus is about to go hunting, and he asks his companions to join in a hymn to the virgin goddess of the chase:

Cantemus omnes Cynthiā,
(Hei, ho, Cynthia)
Venationis dominā,
(Sic incipit melodia).
Quae habitas in saltibus,
(Hei, ho, Delia)
Ornata nostris laudibus,
Adsis nobis bellula.

Erastus answers with a hymn to Venus:

Cantabit Panthia Paphiā,
(Hei, ho, Paphia)
Coeli terraeq́ gloriam,
Vbiq́ lucet nitida.
Quae vultu sidera superas,
(Hei, ho, hei, ho, Cipria)
& inter cunctas emicas,
Adsis mihi lepida.

Silvanus sings a second stanza, praying the Satyrs and other creatures of the wood to favour their hunting, and after Erastus has again glorified the goddess of love, Silvanus leads off his band with a final stave.

As has been pointed out by Professor Churchill,[2] the metre and rhyme schemes here are the same as in the roundelay

[1] Preserved in a single MS. in the Bodleian, Douce 234, which also contains *Hispanus* and *Machiauellus.* The name of the author is not given; he may have been Francis Rollinson, B.A., who played the title-part (see the list of actors in Appendix V). The actors were members of St. John's, and there is a note on the MS. 'Acta haec fabula 13° Januarij, an. dni. 1596'.

[2] *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch,* xxxiv. 297.

sung by Perigot and Willie in the August eclogue of *The Shepheards Calender*, where the refrain 'hey, ho' is also repeated in every second and sixth line. Hunting choruses, as has been seen, were frequent in College plays, but in no other is there an apparent echo of Spenser's oaten flute.

Panthia's assumption of masculine attire has, however, already produced unexpected complications, for in scene ii the high-born and beautiful Florinda confesses to her foster-mother, Melissa, as they walk together to the baths, that she is dying for love of Erastus. It is somewhat surprising that Florinda should soon afterwards (Act II, i) be seen in a glade in the woods by Silvanus, who immediately falls a victim to her charms, but despairs of winning the love of one far above him in rank. As he lies groaning on the earth, Florinda again enters, and is followed by Erastus. Unseen of one another for the moment, the three lovers utter the same anguished cry:

Sil. Florinda, Florinda, moritur Siluan^{9} amore tui.
Er. Siluane, Siluane, morit^{r} Panthia amore tui.
Fl. Eraste, Eraste, moritur Florinda amore tui.

Silvanus then catches sight of Florinda, and bracing himself with the reflection that 'foemina est, ergò flecti potest', he addresses her in endearing terms of highly questionable Latinity:

Salue decus Italiae, bella Cupidinilla,
Tenelle ros iuuencularū, virginū floscule,
Norma nitoris & splendoris candida,

But he has to hear the bitter news that Florinda loves Erastus:

Sil. Quid hoc? nū Erast^{9} meus Riualis erit?
Nū seruus praeferatur mihi?
Non, non, feram.
Fl. Quid facies? *Sil.* aemulū perimā.

Erastus, who has meanwhile been absorbed in her own thoughts, now hears Silvanus's voice, and sees him prostrate again on the ground through grief. Deaf to the prayers of Florinda she embraces Silvanus, who angrily thrusts her away, and flies off. He is followed by Florinda, who threatens him with punishment for his treatment of Erastus.

But at this point further complications are introduced

through the two comic characters—Harpalus, the slave of Silvanus, and Babylo, a rustic in Florinda's service. The latter (Act I. iii) had caught a hunting-dog of Silvanus, which had killed one of his sheep, and had threatened it with condign penalties:

> Ego primū te onerabo fustibus,
> Dein proximis comitijs te sistā coràm iudice;
> Ibi si legere non possis uitalem versiculū,
> Collum tuū perstringā laqueo.
> Aut ad minimū manus tua nigra inuret litera;
> Postremò te phlebotomizabo foetide.

Harpalus orders him to release the dog, and is abused in terms which are remarkable in the mouth of a Mantuan shepherd:

> Adolescens, ne clama nimis, scio te
> Bona voce esse, nam os habes instar Gargātuae.[1]

Equally remarkable is Babylo's heraldic proof that he is no mere peasant, but 'generosus':

> Nam in campo gero uert haec tria insignia
> Cuculū gardant geules, anserem passant
> Argent & asinū rāpāt or.

He gives up at last the dog to Harpalus, who, when he next is seen, in Act II. iv, is searching for his master, who has disappeared from the chase. He finds him overcome by his passion for Florinda, and, bribed by a promise of freedom, he engages to effect their union. He has an unexpected opportunity of making his offer good, for (Act III. i) he meets Babylo, sent by Florinda to bid Erastus come to her chamber on the following night. The rustic has never seen Erastus, and Harpalus asks him what he will give to be brought to him. Babylo answers in high-sounding formal phraseology:

> Iuro per Palladis cothurnū & per Dianae pectinē,
> Mē tibi daturum coronā gallicam.
> In cuius rei testimoniū, obligo me, haeredes,
> Executores, & administratores meos
> Firmiter per praesentes, sigillo meo sigillatas,
> Datas 13° Januarij,[2] anno millimo, quillimo,
> Trillimo.

[1] It is a curious coincidence that a reference to Gargantua's mouth should occur also in *As You Like It*, III. ii. 210. Cf. Churchill, *loc. cit.*

[2] The date of the performance of the play, as noted above.

Harpalus then arranges with Silvanus to personate Erastus, and thus enjoy Florinda's favours—a prospect which moves him to delirious outbursts:

> Iam sum fact^{9} Jupit^{r}, da Ganimede poculū
> Vt meae Junoni bibam.
> Iam libet ire cubitū, Hebe lectū sternito.

But in Act IV, when Babylo brings Silvanus to Florinda, her foster-mother detects the imposture, and the rustic is left wondering at a greater marvel than any he has yet seen:

> Vidi saepe mira rerū spectacula;
> Vidi regem mutarier in catulū,
> Vidi rusticū mutarier in simiā,
> Vidi cuculū cantātem, vt re, me, fa, sol, la,
> Vidi porculū digitis pulsantē organa,
> Vidi camelū saltantem ad citharā,
> Vidi asinū in rostro perorātē populo,
> Verū hoc q^{d} modo fit, haec superat omnia.
> Nā Erastus vt Melissa praedicat
> Mutatur in Siluanū.

He is sure that he will be executed for his blunder, and makes a mock will, bequeathing his body to the halter.

Erastus meanwhile appears, seeking for Silvanus, and she and Florinda, unseen of each other, pour forth their woes in parallel strains:

> *Er.* Nulla est, quae me anteit doloribus animi,
> Non ipsa Venus, cū Adonida dilexit suū.
> *Fl.* Nulla est quae me superat cruciatibus animi,
> Nō resonabilis Eccho cū arsit Liriopes filiū.
> *Er.* Ai, Siluane cur tu tuam Panthiam fugas?
> *Fl.* Ai, Eraste cur tuā Florindam fugis?
> *Er.* An me mori sines adamantine?
> *Fl.* An me mori sines adamantine?
> *Er.* Quācūq; miseram videris, eā esse Pāthiā scias.
> *Fl.* Vtcūq; Florindā videris, eā esse miserā scias.
> *Er.* Perij. *Fl.* Perij.

Here they recognize each other, and Florinda addresses Erastus in extravagant terms of adulation, but the latter takes to flight, and is pursued by the infatuated girl.

Meanwhile Melissa, to punish Silvanus, has given him a drugged drink which plunges him into a stupor, and has

changed his clothes for those of a country yokel. Waking in a frenzy, he fancies himself in the infernal regions petitioning Pluto, and returning with a band of avenging furies:

> Megaera tu Florindā lacera, Alecto tu Melissā,
> Tu Tisiphone Babilonem, agite officijs incūbite.

His attention is, however, suddenly claimed by Babylo, who salutes him as Grumio the neatherd, and pretends to be his wife. A single kiss, however, convinces Silvanus of the deceit, and restores him to knowledge of himself. His feelings overflow from Latin into Italian:

> Ahi il cor mi sento esser in grā tormēto,
> Mai hauro uita, moriro contento.
> Come farai? uiurai in tal dolore,
> Misero amore.

But his frenzy soon returns. He fancies that he is at the chase, and runs off the stage with loud cries to his dogs. In the next scene he is found by Harpalus twisting the necks of two cats, whom he takes to be Florinda and Erastus paying the last penalty for their misdeeds. Terrified by the spectacle and his master's outcries, Harpalus flies in search of a doctor.

But the turn of events is working the only possible cure of Silvanus's malady. In Act V. i, Erastus, outwearied by Florinda's persistent wooing, confesses that she is Panthia, the adopted daughter of the Sicilian merchant Melicertus. Florinda remembers that she had a sister of this name who had been brought up by an aunt at Ravenna, and who had been carried off by a Greek soldier in the Turkish war. She asks Melissa, who arrives opportunely, if this sister had any marks by which she could be recognized. Melissa has her answer pat:

> Si uiuat, fronte serena est,
> Acuto naso, nigris occulis, albo corpore,
> Naeuūq; habet sub maxilla dextera.

Panthia (as she is henceforward called) proves to answer the description in all points, and as further evidence of her identity she shows a gem on which the names of her parents are inscribed. They are those of Florinda's father and mother, of whom the former is ill with gout, and the latter is dead.

The recognition has just taken place, when Silvanus enters, still frenzied, with his sword drawn, and declaiming against Florinda in Greek tragic measure:

> ὦ μοι, ὦ στυγνὰν φλωρίνδαν κωκύτου τέκνον
> σε ταρτάρου κευθμῶσιν ἐν βαθυσκίοις
> μεγαίρ' ἐριννὺς ἀστρὸς ἐξεγείνατο.

He thinks for a moment of suicide, but only to think better of it:

> Sta culter vt hoc ultimū officiū mihi perigas,
> Age mors age, veni ac me visita.
> Vah quid uecors meditor? ha, ha, hae apage
> Mors, apage, vale, vale, non te uoco.
> Quod p iocū dictū est, ne in seriū conuortito.

Immediately afterwards he falls asleep, and is carried off to recover from the effects of the potion.

From this point events march with surprising swiftness. When Harpalus returns from a fruitless quest for the doctor, who has gone to Rome to attend Cardinal Hippolytus, he meets Babylo, who bids him loftily address him as 'mounseur'. He has been appointed 'cellarius' to Octavius, father of Panthia, and has been ordered to prepare a banquet for the following day to celebrate her marriage with Silvanus. As Silvanus has hitherto hated the girl, and has fled from home to escape from her, his sudden transfer of affection, even though she has proved to be Florinda's sister, is far from convincing, and we are certainly not prepared for his appeal in the final scene:

> Ah Panthia, nūc veniā pristinae proteruitatis peto.
> Ignosce mihi.

The hero's conversion is, however, as complete as it is abrupt, and he poses for the part of the ideal lover:

> Sine te amplectar mea Iuno.
> Vbinam vos estis, o Appelle, o Zeuxis pictor?
> Cur numerò estis mortui?
> Hic exēplū pingeretis veri amoris.

And as a final proof that he has entered the service of Venus, he bids her praise be sung in the same measure in which he had hymned Diana in the opening scene:

Cantabimus omnes Cipriā
(Hei, ho, Cipria)
Coniugiorum dominā.
(Sic incipit Harmonia)
Quae habitas in thalamis
(Hei, ho, Venustula)
Faueas hisce nuptijs,
Venus o mollicula.

In a closing stanza the author takes leave of his audience with an appeal for forgiveness for the imperfections of the play. This doubtless was readily granted, for *Siluanus*, with its pastoral background, filigree love-scenes, burlesque humours, and lusty choruses, formed a thoroughly agreeable entertainment. But it lacks the finer qualities which make *Laelia* a masterpiece in its own kind. In the Queens' College play, when the antecedent conditions have been granted, such as the extraordinary likeness of the brother and sister, and the former's preservation unknown to his relatives, even the most improbable incidents are made credible by the truth of the characterization and the deftness of the plot-construction. *Siluanus* is merely a series of fantastic episodes, which have their climax in the hero's sudden union with a girl whom he has hitherto detested, while her sister, the object of his frenzied vows, is left unpartnered. It would, however, be ungracious to consider too deeply the deficiencies of a plot which, though nominally laid in Mantua, carries us to the borders of Arcadia.

On the 'dies comitialis' in the same year 1596/7 another Italianate comedy, of unknown authorship and origin, *Hispanus*, was acted at St. John's.[1] The scene is laid in Tarentum, and though there are episodical glimpses of mountain heights and of harbours with sea-going ships, the main action takes place in the city atmosphere typical of the southern humorous stage. In its central theme—the rivalry of three suitors, one of

[1] The Douce MS., after the list of actors (see Appendix V), has some puzzling entries. At the bottom left-hand corner of the folio, which has been torn, the letters 'orrell' are apparently part of a name, possibly that of Roger Morrell, a Fellow of the College. Whether he was author of the play or transcriber of the manuscript there is nothing to show. Then follows, 'Jupiter illum perduat (*sic*). | Qui nos derisui habuit | Summus histriodidascalus M^r Pratt.' William Pratt was another Fellow of St. John's (M.A. 1584, B.D. 1592).

whom is a foreigner, for a maiden's hand—*Hispanus* recalls *Hymenaeus* performed at the same College about twenty-eight years previously.

The play opens in a street outside the house of the merchant Pandolphus, whose daughter Silvia is being wooed by Aurelius, a young Florentine who has won her heart, Cornelius a wealthy boor, and Torquattus, a braggart Spaniard. Cornelius, in the first scene, is receiving a lesson from his servant Carolus in the deportment and manner of address befitting a wooer. Carolus, who impersonates Silvia for the occasion, bids his sheepish and ungainly master bear himself 'athletice & basilice', and at the end of the lesson assures him that he outdoes Paris himself. But when they come close to the house Cornelius is bitterly mortified to see Aurelius embracing Silvia 'in aediū vertice', and he rushes off to the market-place, where he has seen Pandolphus, to tell him the news. The father undertakes to get rid of his rival, and bids him return to the house to pay his addresses to Silvia. It is nothing to the commercially-minded Pandolphus that Cornelius is not a fashionable gallant, that he does not wear (as Carolus mischievously emphasizes)

> Barbā quadratā hispanicā
> Ipso obtuitu inimicis mortiferam,
> Nec machaerā ad leuū latus pensilē,
> Nec chlamida ad imos calceos Italicā,
> Nec caligas rotundas gallicas,
> Nec comas cincinnatas Anglicas.

It is enough that he has 'argenti montes', and that 'ipsū Plutū possidet'. Pandolphus takes counsel with his servant Bartalus, who, on the promise of his freedom, engages to separate Aurelius and Silvia, and declares

> Non me machiauellus superabit consilijs.

There is nothing, however, of Machiavellian subtlety in his scheme, which consists in forging two letters, one from Aurelius declaring his love to a certain Aemilia, and the other from Silvia in similar terms to Torquattus. While he goes off, 'ad officinam Chapiletti causidici', to arrange the details of the plot the parasite Rhomeo appears. He has recently had a lesson

how to greet and win the good graces of patrons of different nationalities:

> Si Germanus, calcē osculare more Germanico,
> & sit in ore, wy ist esh men hur?
> Si Hispanus, collū recurua & os distorque tuū,
> & saluta illū, como estar sennore?
> Si Italus, digitū osculare paruulū,
> Ac dicito, mio segnior in qual modo esseres?
> Si gall⁹, crura prehendè digitis,
> & dic, qua ma porte a uous maistre?

For the present he has attached himself to Torquattus, who has sent him with a gold ring to Silvia, which he has kept for his own use. When, however, his patron appears, invocating his mistress in high-flown Spanish phrase, and asks how she has received his present, Rhomeo assures him that she kissed it in her delight, and sent him a multitude of thanks. But he warns him that her father is opposed to his suit, whereupon the Spaniard bursts forth grandiloquently:

> Egone, qui tot Britannos mea dedolaui manu,
> Tot hac dextra cani dedicaui Stigio,
> Cū Angli in Portugallia oppugnarūt Lisborniā,
> Egon' vt illum patiar hircum!

The reference is to Drake's attack on Lisbon in 1589, and this is followed by another more pointed contemporary allusion. Rhomeo, after a muttered aside,

> Vt gloriatur insolens, qui nūquā Anglū
> Est conspicat⁹ timidus,

asks Torquattus:

> Tune miles eras in illo exercitu maritimo
> Qui nouē abhinc annis nauigabat ad Angliā?

The answer is surprising, even in the mouth of a Spanish braggadocio:

> Scilicet cū tot salsipotenti sacrificaui Nereo
> Quādo Angli in alto piscib⁹ praebebant pabulū.

He then proceeds to compare his labours with those of Hercules, while Rhomeo makes mock of them in derisive punning asides:

Tor. Ille iuuenis pugnauit cū Hidra, ego cū Scotis.
Rh. Tu cū scortis, scortū est Hydra peius.
Tor. Ille cū auibus Stimphalicis, ego cū Scythis.
Rh. Tu cū cyathis, nam est bibacissimus.

At this moment Aurelius appears 'ad leuā' with a picture of Silvia, over which he is poring with rapturous exclamations upon her beauties. His ecstasies are interrupted by his servant Lucius, who rushes in breathlessly with a letter which Bartalus has given him in mistake (as he declares) for Rhomeo. It is the forged letter in which Silvia renounces Aurelius and declares her love for the Spanish 'Mars'. As Lucius reads it aloud, Aurelius, with the ready credulity of the southern stage-lover, immediately takes it at its face value, and pours forth a torrent of hysterical abuse upon his mistress:

O Siluia, leuitate uincens o̅e̅ femineū genus,
Colchide nouerca peior es, Progne peior,
Ingrata puella, venefica, cortice leuior,
Pluma volatilis, insatiabilis libidine.

He calls on Jupiter to strike her dead with a thunderbolt, on earth to yawn and swallow her, and rushes off to buy poison for himself at an apothecary's. Torquattus, who has heard the letter, cries triumphantly in his native tongue:

Yo ser uencedor, triūphar vinciamēte Rhomeo,

and goes off to the barber to be trimmed for a meeting with Silvia. Cornelius (Act II. i) returning from his interview with her, in which he has been mercilessly ridiculed, though he is too obtuse to see it, similarly equips himself for his further amatory campaign by laying in a stock of perfumes. He has, however, already made a conquest under Pandolphus's roof. The merchant's second daughter, Fulvia, loves him as ardently as Silvia hates him, and while the latter, tricked by Bartalus, is deploring, with a wealth of classical parallels, the treachery of Aurelius, Fulvia is pining for the country swain. Their lamentations are interrupted by the return of Cornelius, adorned and scented, but at a loss how to set about his wooing:

Cor. Quid si uultu adeā terrifico vt solent athletici?
Car. Tum hinc pol pauidam fugabis Siluiā.

Cor. Quid si uultu domestico, vt mos est nostratibus?
Car. Non, nā sic illi eris irridiculo.
Cor. Quid si hilari adeā et uultu Venerio?
Car. Si possis tum illi cordi fueris.

His servant suggests that he should kiss her, but he is too shy to act on the advice, 'ne me conspicentr ciues', and asks instead how much she paid for her shoes, and how long it is since the clock struck? He is on still more congenial ground when he asks whether she knows the number of his sheep, or has seen his 'pullum indomitum'. When she rushes away in disgust, he follows her 'vt capella florentē cytisū', while Fulvia tries in vain to hang on to him, and to secure the love that her sister spurns.

Torquattus next reappears, decked out for conquest, but he is to find that other weapons are needed in love's campaign than brave attire. Lucius arrives with a challenge from Aurelius, which the Spaniard disdains to accept, as he is of blood royal:

Mihi Tritauus Geryō, qui vicit Herculē,
Abauus Ferdinand9 qui vicit Americā,
Auus Don Pedro qui vicit Angliā.

But when Aurelius rushes in and stands his ground undismayed by volleys of Spanish 'thunder', the braggart is forced to fight, and is soon reduced to craven supplications for his life, which is spared on condition that he never again pays court to Silvia. But the victor is still heart-broken, and prepares to fly with his faithful Lucius

In aliquē tescū locū
Vbi vultures & luctifici bubones ululāt,

that he there may take his life.

It is in such a lonely spot that Act III opens. Aurelius, deaf to the tearful prayers of his servants, demands his sword, and threatens, if he is denied it, to hurl himself from the mountain top. The long arm of coincidence is stretched to an unnatural degree when it brings Silvia and her Ethiopian slave, Polla, at this moment to such a place. Lucius points them out to Aurelius 'ad laeuam', and he snatches at the opportunity of killing his perjured mistress before taking his

own life. He seizes her by the hair and points his sword at her breast, only to hear her entreat him to strike:

> Aureli, nunc me votis facis compotem
> Vt ego vitā exosa manibus emoriar tuis.

But his weapon falls helpless as he looks on her, and he bids her be gone from his sight. She turns upon him with his letter to Aemilia and he retorts with hers to Torquattus. Their mutual amazement prepares the way for the discovery of the trick that has been played upon them, of which the shrewd Lucius expounds the motive. The lovers become immediately reconciled, and Silvia determines to meet plot with plot, and to secure the same night the happiness of Aurelius and herself.

Thus, in the opening scene of Act IV, she gives a feigned assent to her father's demand that she should marry Cornelius. When Pandolphus fixes the wedding for the next day, and goes off to the market-place to invite guests to the festival, she even endures the rustic's clumsy compliments and the kiss which he nerves himself to give her before he takes his leave. He is succeeded by Torquattus, who, in spite of his oath to Aurelius, is still continuing his suit. The situation gives the playwright an opportunity of another attack upon the Spaniards. Rhomeo reminds his patron that he has sworn not to pay court to Silvia. Torquattus answers, in the characteristic language of the casuist,

> Iuraui lingua, mentē iniuratā gero,

whereupon there follows a verbal thrust and parry, in which the parasite, inconsistently with his general character, champions truth and honour.

> *Rh.* Indignum facis facinus si peierādū siet.
> *Tor.* Peccatū paruulū periuriū arbitror.
> *Rh.* An nulla te coerceat relligio?
> *Tor.* Enecas, cū mihi religionem memoras
> . . . . . .
> Hoc ego cū facio Hispanisso, Rhomeo.
> . . . . . .
> An tu tantus nescis Philippum Hispaniae
> Esse Papae filiū adopticiū,
> Et me esse illi in delicijs,

Adeo vt si quid facinoris perpetrē
Bullis peccati faciā piaculū ?
An tu nūquā hoc audisti Rhomeo ?
Pol frequēs sermo est apud vulgus popli.

Rhomeo is silenced by these lofty assertions, and is glad to turn the conversation by drawing his patron's attention to Silvia, who confides to them that her father means to marry her on the morrow to Cornelius. To escape this fate she arranges with the delighted Spaniard that he shall carry her off at night, and take ship with her to his own country. To prevent recognition she will blacken her face, and will answer only to the name of Polla.

The plot is now in train, and the further details are quickly arranged. Fulvia is promised the hand of Cornelius, if she will play her sister's part at the wedding on the morrow:

Tu uestes induta nuptiales ages Siluiā,
Nā frequens scis mos est in Italia
Vt noua nupta procedat operta facie ;
Sic nullus est qui nostros pernoscat dolos.
Ego proficiscar aliquò, ne me videāt,
& inter nuptias tibi impedimento siem.

Polla is assured that Torquattus is in love with her, and is coming that night 'ad horam primam' to carry her off from servile drudgery to freedom and high matrimonial estate. Finally, Aurelius is bidden keep tryst at his mistress's chamber 'ad horam tertiam', by which time the coast will be clear.

At the beginning of Act V Torquattus appears punctually beneath Silvia's window, and greets her with a serenade, to which she makes answer from above. But at the end of the 'cantilena' it is Polla who descends into the arms of Torquattus, leaving Silvia to follow later with Aurelius, who has arranged to set sail immediately for Florence, while Lucius stays behind to see the working-out of events. It is not long before Rhomeo rushes in, cursing the whole tribe of women, and crying aloud that Torquattus has been married to the Aethiopian:

Cuius pol nigredinem nec oceanus Britannic⁹,
Nec mare Mediterraneū, nec Mare Caspiū,
Nec Tag⁹, nec Tanais, nec Isis, nec Thamysis,
Nec Granta, nec Trenta, nec Twida abluant.

The bridegroom himself follows, trying to escape from his unwelcome consort, who takes a firm stand upon her legal rights—

Cū tibi nupta sū, non possumus sic disiūgier—

and who replies to his abuse by threatening to take proceedings against him before the praetor.

Meanwhile Cornelius has been similarly duped. He has arrived on his wedding morning with a large retinue, including a minstrel and dancers, and while he waits for his bride to come forth he makes merry:

Cor. Incipe tibicē cantionē Scoticā
Quae faciat vt perpruriscā ex unguiculis,
Tu salta Bianca et ego saltabo simul.
Car. Tu mecū saltabis Balia.
Cor. Hymē, Io Hymē, he, ho.
Car. Hei, ho, Balia.

This is an echo of the round sung at the marriage of Silvanus, and, after such a merry strain, it is cruel of the mischievous Carolus to ask the minstrel to give—

Vel hominē in desperatione, vel Doctorē Faustū,
Vel Doctorē Lopezziū,[1] vel Labandalashottū.

Here, too, after the ceremony there is a 'miranda metamorphosis' of Silvia into Fulvia; but while Pandolphus is storming at the girl, Cornelius, on the advice of his mentor Carolus, accepts the accomplished fact as heaven's decree, and declares himself satisfied with his bride. Silvia's schemes seem to have succeeded beyond expectation, but they are within an ace of being ruined by an unforeseen obstacle. Her father had left Bartalus at the harbour to watch over a ship just come from Lisbon with a valuable cargo, which he is afraid of the sailors pilfering. Bartalus recognizes Silvia and her lover as they are about to embark for Florence, bids the sailors lay hands on Aurelius, and drags the pair back into the presence of

[1] This incidental reference in a Cambridge play to the Jewish doctor Roderigo Lopez, who was executed at Tyburn in the spring of 1594 on a trumped-up charge of conspiring to poison the Queen, shows how notorious was the memory he had left, and supports the view that Shakespeare was influenced by the popular excitement against him when he wrote *The Merchant of Venice*.

Pandolphus. The enraged father orders Aurelius to be put in prison, though Silvia (not without reason) begs to take his place:

> Pater hic nil meruit, in me cadet[r] faba,
> Sit ille liber, me, me in carcerem compingito
> Hoc omine, vt ille libertatem habeat.

Aurelius, not to be outdone by his mistress in magnanimity, pleads:

> Pandolphe tu me vel cruci figas
> Hac lege, vt in gratiā tuā recipiatur filia.

But Pandolphus, who certainly stretches *patria potestas* to its widest limits, declares that he will not be satisfied except by their blood, and Aurelius prepares to die with his beloved, though he calls upon Florence and his father to avenge his fate. At this moment it occurs to Lucius to tell Pandolphus that his victim's father is no other than the Florentine millionaire Fabritius. Aurelius is put through a successful examination on the names of his mother and his nurse, who died when he was three years old, through falling out of bed and breaking her right leg. Pandolphus is posted up in her history, as he was the guest of Fabritius at the time in Florence, and he also knows that if Aurelius is his father's son he had a scar on his right hand from the bite of a dog in his boyhood. This final proof of identity is shown, the prisoner is set free, and is accepted as a son-in-law.

If *Hispanus* was founded on an Italian original it must have been freely adapted, for the strong anti-Spanish and anti-Papal bias that runs through it is of English origin. The playwright, in fact, with his hits at foreign dress and salutations, at Scottish music, and at alien necromancers, had evidently a full share of insular prejudices. Nevertheless, the plot and characters are typical of the Italian school of comedy, and represent it favourably. The earlier scenes, though amusing, are on conventional lines, and the love of Fulvia for the boorish Cornelius has to be taken on trust. But once the action is fully started it moves briskly and naturally. The scene where Aurelius in vain seeks to kill his mistress heightens by contrast the fun of the merry episodes, which

throw Torquattus and Polla, and Cornelius and Fulvia into each other's arms. And then, just when the lovers seem secure of happiness, there comes with dramatic effectiveness a moment of wellnigh tragic suspense, relieved by the disclosure of the most open of secrets, and followed by a general reconciliation.

Yet another comedy in which three suitors contend for a girl is *Machiauellus*, acted at St. John's on December 9, 1597.[1] The scene is laid at Florence, where Orlanda, daughter of Andronicus, has been betrothed to Phalantus, who has gone to the wars and has been reported killed. His rival, Machiavellus, appears to the father disguised as the ghost of Phalantus, risen 'e domo exili Plutonia', and warns Andronicus not to marry the girl to a third wooer, Jacuppus, a Jew. He declares that Jacuppus is hated by the gods of heaven and hell, and that they will kill Andronicus on the night that Orlanda marries him. The old man is terrified, and when the Jew appears with his servant Grillio, they have to knock repeatedly before he dares to open the door, and even then he hesitates to venture over the threshold. He tells the story of the apparition and orders Jacuppus never to set foot within his house. But at the opening of Act II Grillio learns from Gullio, the servant of Machiavellus, the secret of the trick that has been played, and the Jew determines on a counter-stroke. Disguised as a 'trapezita' he serenades the dawn under Andronicus's windows, but is dumbfounded to see him and Machiavellus come forth together. Despair turns to joy when he gathers that his rival has wooed in vain:

An. Abi domum,
Solare teipsum. *Ma.* Solare teipsum!
Hoc mihi visus es dicere, abi domum et suspende teipsum.
. . . vtinam hic adesset aliquid
Quo perirem, perire cupiens, et qui me perire cogit.

Jacuppus murmurs in an aside that he can at once oblige him:

Habeo hic cultellum, eum etiam acutum reddam
Quo se facilius interficiat, ne qua mora siet.

Andronicus tries to soothe the rejected suitor's feelings by

[1] The Douce MS. gives the date of performance and the list of actors.

telling him that he has risen too early, and that he should go home and sleep, but Machiavellus retorts tragically:

> Nullum ego somnū capiam, nisi somnū tu mortem
> Vocas.

At this moment he catches sight of the weapon which Jacuppus has thrown in his way:

> Sed quid hoc? culter quo me occidam?
> Quasi is de coelo decidat.

Instead, however, of using it against himself, he begs Andronicus to be his executioner, and when he refuses, he goes off angrily.

Jacuppus thereupon comes forward and 'plaies on his drumme' to attract the attention of Andronicus, whom he tells that he has composed the song that has just been sung, which was taught him by his relative Orpheus. The old man invites him indoors to entertain his daughter, but when the Jew takes advantage of this to reveal himself and declare his love for 'mea rosa candida', Orlanda sends him about his business.

Machiavellus has meanwhile learnt from Grillio that his rival is with the girl, and his thoughts turn to murder as they had before done to suicide—with the same result:

> Num senem
> Veneno interficiam? ah nō audeo, hoc
> Pietas prohibet. Pietas? quae haec est noua religio?
> Cur amo si nō audeo? Cur nō audeo, si amo?

He adopts (III. ii) a fresh disguise, as an Egyptian fortune-teller, muttering Aethiopian verses borrowed from More's *Utopia*. He tells Andronicus that his daughter will kill him, in order to marry to her own liking, but that if this can be averted he will have a second wife and a daughter even more beautiful than Orlanda. Andronicus thereupon proposes that the Egyptian should carry the girl off to his own country, with a dowry of 20 minae, and Machiavellus arranges to bring her out of the house in a chest, while she is asleep. When she wakes and finds herself in his power, she feigns submission to his wishes, and he sends Gullio to the market to buy provisions for the wedding-feast on the morrow.

Gullio on his way encounters Jacuppus, and when the latter

hears that Orlanda is to be married to Machiavellus, he disguises himself (IV. i) as a blind musician and sings beneath his rival's windows. Machiavellus asks him inside to sing a marriage-ode, and he is thus enabled to carry out a crafty plot. He puts mandragora into Orlanda's cup, and she falls into a stupor which seems to be death. He knows that Machiavellus, to avert inquiries, will bury her secretly, and he will then be able to dig her up, and marry her himself.

In Act V. ii, Machiavellus, with Gullio and other attendants, is seen bearing by night the chest containing Orlanda's body to the grave. He is lamenting over her in passionate accents:

> O Orlanda foeminarū regina, iam vale!
> Postremū iā te vidi:

when Jacuppus and Grillio, with a couple of 'lorarii', stop the procession, and demand who they are and what they are doing. All take to flight except Gullio, who tells what has taken place, and is warned that his master will be punished for killing Orlanda. Jacuppus then opens the chest, and invokes the sleeping maiden in terms of rapture:

> O mea columba,
> Aura coeli matutina, meū suaue lilium,
> Cuius viuam mortem ferunt oscula: iā vigila.

Grillio advises him to cut short his ecstasies, and to go home to prepare for Orlanda's advent, while he follows with the chest.

Up to this point the Jew's scheme has succeeded to the full, but it now comes to grief in a way that no ingenuity could have foreseen. Phalantus, whose death had been falsely reported, returns (IV. ii) to claim his bride, and is told by her father that to escape the importunity of other suitors she has fled from home to seek him. Andronicus presses the soldier to dine with him, and on his way home with some attendants after the entertainment (V. iii) he encounters Grillio carrying the chest. Taking him for a thief, he bids him open it—only to discover, as he thinks, a murder. And there is still worse to come.

> *Ph.* Quae haec est femina?
> Vbi illam occidisti? *Gr.* Orlanda est illi

Nomen Andronici filia. *Ph.* Cura leuis
Loquitur, stupet ingens. Orlanda Andronici filia!

Grillio declares that he has received the chest from his master Jacuppus; Jacuppus, when summoned, further accuses Machiavellus, who, when also ordered to come out, denies his guilt. The general tumult disturbs Andronicus, who, on inquiring what the ado is about, is told by Phalantus that Orlanda is dead. Machiavellus and Jacuppus in self-defence make a clean breast of their various disguises and plots, but Phalantus, still convinced that Orlanda is dead, orders their servants to cut their throats. Before suffering their doom they become reconciled, and each in turn implores the sleeping maiden to wake and save them:

Orlanda, Orlanda, vigila, vigila, aut ego moriar.

Just as the servants are ready to strike, Andronicus cries out,

Phalante, Phalante,
Vigilat Orlanda,

and the girl raises herself with the wondering question 'ah, vbinam gentium sum?' Her lover answers 'ne time, in Phalanti amplexibus', but the rest of the scene of reunion is missing from the MS.

The writer of *Machiauellus* had an instinct for spectacular effects and 'situations', which goes far to make up for his weakness in plot-construction and characterization. The title-part is scarcely discriminated from that of Jacuppus, who is Jewish in nothing but name, and the succession of disguises which the two tricksters adopt is too obvious a piece of stage-artifice. Machiavellus, who has carried off Orlanda with her father's knowledge, has not the same strong motive for getting rid of her supposed dead body as Julia in *Hymenaeus*, in similar outward circumstances, has for disposing of Erophilus.[1] And it is not easy to feel much interest in Phalantus, a sort of Ulysses Redux of the comedy stage, who does not make an appearance till Act IV. But these weaknesses were doubtless overlooked by an audience, amused and thrilled, in turn, by such effective episodes as the opening 'ghost' scene, the

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 138.

fortune-telling, the interrupted funeral procession, and the resurrection of the maiden from her bier to her lover's embrace.

Two comedies, *Leander* and *Labyrinthus*, by Walter Hawkesworth, who matriculated at Trinity College in May 1588, proceeded B.A. in 1591/2, and was elected to minor and major Fellowships in 1593 and 1595, seem to have been specially popular. Each is extant in numerous MSS.,[1] and *Labyrinthus* was printed as late as 1636. *Leander*, first acted at Trinity in 1598 or 1598/9,[2] was revived with additions at the Bachelors' Commencement in March 1602/3; *Labyrinthus* appears to have been acted on the day after this revival,[3] and was produced again twenty years later, in March 1622/3, before James I on his third visit to Cambridge.

The two plays are more purely Italian in inspiration and atmosphere than the comedies previously discussed, which in one form or another show traces of academic or other topical influences. *Labyrinthus*, in fact, though Hawkesworth does not mention his source, is nothing more than an adaptation of *La Cintia* by G. B. della Porta. The same Neapolitan dramatist's comedy *La Fantesca* (*The Maidservant*) probably suggested *Leander*. In *La Fantesca* a young Genoese lover, Essandro, enters the service of Gerasto in Naples, disguised as a maidservant, that he may be near his daughter Cleria, with whom he is in love, but whom her father has destined for another wooer. Hence arise many complications, including the infatuation of Gerasto with the supposed maidservant,

[1] A list of these will be found in *The Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.* vi. 474. Hawkesworth's authorship of *Leander* is recorded only in the Trinity Coll. MS. (R. 3. 9), and of *Labyrinthus* in the Trinity Coll. (R. 3. 6) and Cambridge Univ. Lib. (Ee. v. 16) MSS.

[2] The Trinity and B.M. Sloane 1762 MSS. have the entry 'Acta est secundo A. D. 1602 comitijs Baccalaureorum . . . primo acta est 1598'. The date, 7 Jan. 1599, at the end of the St. John's Coll. MS. (J. 8) may be that on which the transcript was finished, but as Jan. 6 is Twelfth Night, it is probably that of the first performance during Twelfthtide festivities, 1598/9. The Trinity and Sloane MSS. give the text of the changes made in the second edition, and a list of the actors on both occasions. See Appendix V.

[3] In Act V. 5 there is a reference to the marriage, *heri*, of Leander and Flaminia, and most of the actors appeared also in the second edition of *Leander*. But see further Appendix V.

which arouses the jealousy of his wife. In *Leander* the hero is also a young Genoese, who takes service at Florence in the household of Gerastus, with whose daughter Flaminia he is in love. But he does not assume feminine disguise, and thus the plot develops on entirely different lines. The episodes are, however, so typical of southern comedy that it is difficult to believe that they are due to Hawkesworth's own imagination.

As in *Laelia*, the disturbed state of Italy and the perils that beset voyagers form a background and set the train of events in motion. Leander and Flaminia, who belong to neighbouring but hostile Genoese families, have become enamoured. Gerastus flies secretly with his daughter to Florence, and when Leander tries to follow them, his ship is captured by pirates, and he remains in servitude for four years, till he is bought off by the young Florentine Alphonsus. From his service he contrives to pass for a time into that of Gerastus, where, under the name of Cocalus, he makes himself a laughing-stock by his pranks and idle ways. In this disguise he can be near his adored one; but it is an equivocal happiness, for Flaminia, according to the convention of Italian comedy, has two other wooers. Alphonsus has fallen in love with her, while her father wishes to marry her to the elderly, foolish doctor Hippocrassus.

The doctor, however, is a very lukewarm suitor, and is easily induced, on the very night fixed for his betrothal, to visit the courtesan Ardelia, attired in the dress of the braggart soldier Rinoceron. He thus both forfeits the favour of Gerastus and gets a drubbing from Ardelia, who takes him to be the soldier, and seeks thus to prove that she holds him cheap compared with Alphonsus; for she is a sixteenth-century 'Dame aux camélias', who has become inspired by an unselfish passion, and is agonized at the prospect of Alphonsus deserting her for Flaminia.

With cynical indifference, however, to her tears and protestations, Alphonsus presses his suit, and promises Leander his freedom if he will help him to win Flaminia's hand. Up to this point (III. v) the atmosphere of the piece has been peculiarly sordid and unwholesome. Dotards, braggarts, clowns, and courtesans have filed in unedifying procession

across the stage. But suddenly there comes a rush of purer air, and the action takes a higher range. Leander, as he listens to Alphonsus, is torn between his love for Flaminia and gratitude to his deliverer. He determines to sacrifice himself; but his loyalty to Alphonsus has to go through a fiery ordeal, for Flaminia, of whom hitherto there has been merely a glimpse in the opening scene of the play, appears at the door of her father's house (IV. ii) bent on flight to a convent to escape marriage with any one but Leander. Her maid, Spinetta, persuades her to return indoors, but not before she has proclaimed in her lover's hearing that she will be his alone. Overcome by the conflict of his emotions, Leander falls down in a swoon, and is found by Gerastus, who calls Flaminia forth to raise and revive him. But he has to tear himself from her arms to bid Alphonsus come to ask her as his bride.

This done he can endure no more and flies from Florence (V. ii), leaving letters to be delivered in three days, after the marriage has taken place, revealing who he is. But Ardelia, in whose view he has deposited the letters 'unsealed', hurries with them to Gerastus, that she may prevent the union of Alphonsus with her rival. In this she succeeds, for Alphonsus, when he learns the secret of Leander's love and self-sacrifice, with a magnanimity equal to his own, renounces all claims to Flaminia's hand, and sets out at once in search of the fugitive. Meanwhile, Hippocrassus appears in arms before Gerastus's door to demand his bride, but while he is vapouring Alphonsus returns with Leander, whom Gerastus is now at last delighted to welcome as a son-in-law.

It is characteristic of the curiously mixed morality of the piece, that Alphonsus, after his unselfish surrender of Flaminia to his former servant, should resume, as the epilogue tells, his relations with Ardelia. When such a work was performed with the approval of the College authorities, any idea of making the stage serve edifying purposes must have been frankly abandoned. Even from the purely theatrical point of view *Leander* does not take the highest rank. As far as can be judged from the reading of the text, it contains no scene as spectacularly effective as some of those in the comedies already discussed. Though the plot is elaborate and

ingenious, it is difficult to see why Leander stays in the service of Gerastus without revealing himself to Flaminia, or why afterwards he leaves the letters that tell his secret where Ardelia may find them. Hippocrassus, with his medical lore, and his laggard ways of wooing, is a variant from the conventional type of rich and elderly suitor, but otherwise the humours of the piece are somewhat thin. Its real strength lies in the title-part, which was played by the author himself. He must have had exceptional powers as an actor to do justice to the triple rôle of the clownish servant of Gerastus, the loyal retainer of Alphonsus, and the lover who answers to a higher call than that of love.

The buffoonery of Grillus, the doctor's attendant, was evidently a popular feature in the play, for Hawkesworth introduced him, in the new service of a braggart Spaniard, into *Labyrinthus*. Apart from the episodes in which he appears and a few additional scenes, chiefly in Act I, *Labyrinthus* is, as has been said, a close version of della Porta's *Cintia*. The title substituted by the adapter indicates the labyrinthine intricacy of the plot due to confusion of sex. There is a young man, Lepidus, who passes as a woman, and a girl, Lucretia (the Cintia of the original), who is supposed to be a man. Hence arises a bewildering and unedifying series of love entanglements before they are finally united to Lidia and Horatius, the son and daughter of Cassander. It is sufficient to say of the moral tone of the piece, that both heroines give themselves to their lovers before marriage, and that Lucretia's wedding coincides with the birth of a son—to the delight of her father! The only plea in the comedy's favour is that confusion of sex had an inexhaustible attraction for renaissance audiences, and that the resultant imbroglio is worked out with much mechanical dexterity.

The Italianate academic comedies discussed in this chapter were performed at Cambridge, as it happens, about the same time that Shakespeare's most mature comedies were being staged in London. *Laelia* shows the southern influence in its highest, *Labyrinthus* in its lowest, aspect, but all these plays are variants of a general type. A study of them helps

to a clearer understanding of what Elizabethan Romantic comedy at its best owed directly or indirectly to the Italian stage, and what it added from native English sources. For these Cambridge comedies represent a foreign form of art transplanted to England, but kept by academic traditions from contact with the free currents of the national life. They have many excellences—dexterity of plot-construction, sense of spectacular effect, facility in ringing the changes on a number of stock social types, delicacy of insight into the niceties of emotion. These are not, for the most part, indigenous attributes of the English dramatic genius, but they had to be acclimatized for it to attain complete development. By themselves they produce, as these Cambridge comedies show, a form of art that attracts by its sense of proportion, its pallid beauty, its exotic fragrance. When such qualities were blended with the masculine creative vigour of the north, its gusto for full-blooded, ebullient life, its haunting sense, amidst the wildest frolic, of deeper things, there sprang from the hallowed union such glorious issue as *Twelfth Night*, *As You Like It*, and *Much Ado About Nothing*.

CHAPTER XIII

ENGLISH TOPICAL COMEDIES AT CAMBRIDGE

SIDE by side with Latin versions or imitations of Italian plays lineally descended from Attic New Comedy, there arose at Cambridge in the last years of Elizabeth's reign a remarkable species of vernacular drama akin in spirit and method to the Old Comedy of Aristophanes. It shared his scorn of the leaders of the populace, and its *dramatis personae* were not traditional types but caricatures of well-known contemporary local figures.

Pedantius, in its burlesque presentment of Gabriel Harvey, had broken the ground for this topical form of comedy. According to Nash it was not the only stage-attack upon the Harvey family:[1]

'Let him denie that there was a Shewe at *Clare-hall* of him and his two Brothers, called,

Tarrarantantara turba tumultuosa Trigonum,
Tri-Harueyorum, Tri-harmonia.

Let him denie that there was another Shewe made of the little Minnow his Brother, *Dodrans Dicke*, at *Peterhouse*, called,

Duns furens, Dick Haruey in a frensie.

Whereupon *Dick* came and broke the Colledge glasse windowes; and Doctor Perne (being then either for himselfe or Deputie Vice-chancellour[2]) caused him to be fetcht in and set in the Stockes till the Shew was ended, and a great part of the night after.'

Nash himself, when he was a Bachelor of Arts, had a hand in a Show called *Terminus & non terminus*, acted at St. John's in or soon after 1586. Personal satire was probably

[1] *Have with You to Saffron-Walden*, in *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, iii. 80.

[2] Dr. Perne was V. C. in his own right for the last time in 1580, and deputy V. C. in 1586.

a feature in it, for Nash's collaborator 'was expelled the Colledge'.[1]

It was not, however, till the academic dramatists turned their shafts against the townsfolk, and for this purpose naturally used vernacular speech, that this species of topical comedy attained its full development. The performances of two English plays at Trinity, in 1559 of *Gammer Gurtons Nedle* at Christ's and of *Ezechias* at King's in 1564, prove that the mother-tongue was not unknown on the Cambridge University stage. The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. John Still, Master of Trinity, and six Heads of Houses, including Edmund Barwell, Master of Christ's, showed themselves therefore badly informed when, in reply to a request of the Vice-Chamberlain on December 2, 1592, that they should provide an English comedy to be acted by 'some of y^e^ Vniversitie' before the Queen at Christmas, they wrote to Burghley as follows:

'how fitt wee shalbe for this that is moued, havinge no practize in this Englishe vaine, and beinge (as we thinke) nothinge beseeminge ou^r^ Students, specially oute of the Vniu'sity; wee much doubt; And do finde ou^r^ principale Actors (whome wee haue of purpose called before vs very vnwillinge to playe in Englishe. . . . Englishe Comedies for that wee neuer vsed any, wee presentlie haue none. To make or translate one in such shortnes of time, wee shall not be able; And therefore yf wee must needes vndertake the busines . . . . These two thinges wee would gladly desire, some further limitacon of time for due preparacon, And liberty to play in latyn.'

But though the authorities showed ignorance of the past history of the Cambridge stage, their account of the conditions in 1592 is doubtless correct. Had it not, therefore, been for the growing ill-will between 'gown' and 'town', we should probably never have had the unique group of English comedies in the closing years of the Tudor period, which is perhaps the crowning achievement of the Cambridge dramatic Muse.

[1] *Works of Gabriel Harvey*, ed. Grosart, iii. 67–8. Harvey continues: 'this foresaid Nashe played (as I suppose) the Varlet of Clubs, which he acted with such natural affection that all the spectators tooke him to be the verie same'. Mr. M^c^Kerrow, *op. cit.*, v. 10, looks upon the suggestion of Nash's acting as a jest.

As early as February 1582/3, Thomas Mudde, a B.A. of Pembroke Hall, had written a comedy in which he attacked the Mayor. For this he was, on the 23rd, committed by the Vice-Chancellor to the Tolbooth for three days, and on his release was compelled to acknowledge his fault before the Mayor, who freely pardoned him.[1] The play has been lost, but if it had been written in Latin, it would scarcely have entailed imprisonment and a formal recantation. In this instance the Vice-Chancellor intervened on behalf of the Mayor, but the period that followed was marked by ever-growing friction between the academic and civic authorities, arising out of the peculiar privileges granted to the University by a series of royal charters and by parliamentary enactment. These privileges included powers of interference with the trade of the town, of searching the houses of citizens and of punishing them in the University Courts. Every mayor on his accession to office had to take an oath to preserve the privileges of the University.

From the mayoralty of John Edmunds in 1586–7 onwards the town took up an increasingly defiant attitude, and in 1596 the newly elected mayor, Robert Wallis, refused to take the oath to preserve the University's privileges. He was re-elected in 1597–8, and towards the end of his period of office procured the inclusion of himself and a young alderman, John Yaxley, in the Commission of the Peace. Yaxley, who was an even more embittered antagonist of the University than Wallis, was chosen mayor for 1599–1600. It was most probably during his term of office that the 'merry but abusive' comedy, *Club Law*, was produced at Clare Hall.[2] In this play the civic authorities

[1] See Cooper, *Annals*, v. 314, quoting from MS. Baker, iii. 427.

[2] Prof. Moore Smith, who identified the unique and partly mutilated MS. of the play in St. John's College, Cambridge, and edited it in 1907, has gone far to prove that Niphle, the newly elected Burgomaster of Athens (Mayor of Cambridge) in the play, represents Yaxley; that Brecknocke the outgoing Burgomaster is Wallis, and the Welshman Tavie is Hugh Jones, whom he had appointed one of his Sergeants; and that Colby, one of the 'headsmen', is William Nicholson, who had been fined in 1596 for ingrossing corn and imprisoned in the castle, but had escaped and won a suit for false imprisonment in Trinity Term 1599 (Introduction to *Club Law*, xii–xxvii). Fuller, in his *History of the University of Cambridge* (1655), 156, appears to assign the play to 1597–8, but Dr. Moore Smith has found in a Jesus Coll. MS., ascribed to Fuller, mention of the production in 1599–1600 at Clare Hall of 'Club Law *fabula* festivissima' (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* IV. ii. 268–9).

were made the target of envenomed and pitiless ridicule far removed from the 'harmless mirth' of *Pedantius*.

The author, whoever he was,[1] knew something of the vernacular drama, though his references to it are characteristically contemptuous. One of the Rector's (Vice-Chancellor's) 'searchers' uses stilted phrases to a courtesan, who thereupon cries (ll. 1661–2), 'ffaith, this fellow hath studied playes. well, well, didst ever see Orlando Furioso sirra?' And he retorts (ll. 1686–7), 'because you saye I have studied playes, I apoint you torchbearer to the Devill'. Doubtless, so keen an academic champion as the writer of *Club Law* held that Plautus and Terence were the true models, but, as he confesses in his epilogue, he has been forced to violate classical precedents (ll. 2872–5):

'I hope you will not be so severe Censurers, as to thinke in such a subject, wee can observe Commike rules, neither was it our Authors intent.'

Yet if 'Commike rules' include the unities of place and time, they are not flagrantly broken. For the scene is laid throughout in Athens (Cambridge), though it shifts from place to place in the town, and the incidents of the first four Acts occupy little more than twenty-four hours. The play opens just before the election of a new Burgomaster (Mayor) in succession to Brecknocke, who has filled the office twice. In a vigorously drawn scene the twenty-four electors, Mr.

[1] George Ruggle, who in 1598 migrated from Trinity to Clare Hall, where he was elected a Fellow, may have written the play. His Latin comedy *Ignoramus*, produced at Trinity before James I in 1615, was a triumphant success. J. S. Hawkins, in his edition of *Ignoramus* (1787) mentions (p. xxi) that in a copy of this play which in 1741 belonged to John Hayward, M.A., of Clare Hall, the owner had written, 'N.B. Mr. Geo. Ruggle wrote besides two other comedies, *Revera* or *Verily*, and *Club Law*, to expose the puritans, not yet printed. MS.' Apparently 'MS' refers (as Hawkins thought) to some unspecified manuscript authority for this statement, but it might possibly mean that the two plays were extant in MS. *Revera* has now disappeared, and Hayward can scarcely have read *Club Law*, or he would not have spoken of it as written 'to expose the puritans'.

While agreeing generally with Prof. Moore Smith that 'it is impossible to use internal evidence to prove the common authorship of two works so utterly different as *Club Law* and *Ignoramus*', I think that it should not be overlooked that they have some notable kindred features. Each play shows the ludicrous humiliation of a fussy functionary who visits disreputable quarters for amorous purposes; each depends for much of its comic effect on the skilful caricature of linguistic peculiarities.

Sixpenny, Mr. Halfecake, and the rest, who are as ill qualified for civic as Falstaff's recruits for military duties, after listening to ornate harangues from Spruce the Town Clerk and Brecknocke, let their choice fall on Mr. Nicholas Nifle. He is a dissolute scoundrel, who has promised the post of Sergeant to a Welshman, Tavie, at whose house he has consorted with a courtesan named Luce. He signalizes his election by a proclamation of war against the 'gentle Athenians' or scholars (ll. 520–6):

'I will rout out the whole generacion of them, and make the vagabonds seeke their dwellings, they shall not nestle with us in our streets, nor out brave us in our own dunghills, they shall trudg, they shall trudge, if Nicholas Niphle be head of this Citie, they shall packe with bag and baggage.'

In the camp of the gownsmen, represented by the graduates Philenius and Musonius, and the mischievous young scholar Cricket, there is a correspondingly bitter spirit towards the citizens (ll. 201 ff.):

Phi. . . . in stead of our servants they seeme to be our masters, their power is too absolute, they muddy slaves [thinke them selves] to good to be our servants.

Muso. I, and will retaine that thought, except some true spirited Gent[lemen] make them feele our stripes for their disobedience, and renewe the ancient Club-lawe. had I but authoritie, I would curbe their foming mouthes, and shewe them by nature to be mere drudges.

Immediately after the feast in celebration of the Burgomaster's election, Niphle holds a council of war. He snubs the suggestions of his predecessor Brecknocke and of the obsequious Mr. Cipher, but two other 'headsmen' (aldermen) put forward acceptable proposals. Mr. Colby, a corn-dealer, is to 'forestall the market and carrie away their Corne', while Mr. Rumford, a butcher, who talks throughout in Northern dialect, is to 'lay on their sides' and let them 'have their owne Clublawe'. Articles of complaint are drawn up, and it is arranged that advantage shall be taken of a 'Cudgill play' on the morrow to attack the students. But the secret is given away by two wantonly merry wives of Cambridge, Mistress Colby and Mistress Niphle, who prefer to their 'hoydens' of

husbands 'such proper Gentlemen, such learned men that conjure the devill into a Circle and put him againe in hell, and doe such strang things as they be'. In the hope of ingratiating themselves with Musonius and Philenius, whose rectitude is unpleasantly priggish, they confide to them that the citizens have resolved to beat the scholars with their own weapons and to make them 'feele Clublawe' next day.

Meanwhile Cricket, eavesdropping 'at Mr. Colebies parlour windowe', overhears the plot for conveying away the corn during the night in sacks thinly covered with coals. He tells Musonius and Philenius, who get a writ of attachment from 'Mr. Rector' (the Vice-Chancellor), arrest Coleby *flagrante delicto*, and march him off to gaol. But Mr. Rector's slumbers have to be broken for yet another writ. The ubiquitous Cricket has heard Niphle arranging with Tavie to pay another midnight visit to Luce at his house. He tells Musonius, who soon reappears, not only with the writ but with the Rector's 'searchers'. The Welshman bars the door long enough for Niphle, who has just entered, to escape and creep into a tub lying outside, in which a beggar-wench is already hiding. Here the pair, thanks again to Cricket, are discovered, and in a parody of a Roman triumph are borne in the tub to gaol (ll. 1574 ff.):

'*Muso.* . . . because hee is a man of state . . . take him my masters and putt him into his tubb of state, and bravely on your shoulders carrye him with triumph thorough the streets . . . but least you should be proud of this great Triumph, after the ancient manner, you shall have this poore servant to be carried with you, that you may be humbled att the sight of her.'

In its boisterous horse-play the episode must have been as theatrically effective as the scene in *Il Fedele*, omitted in *Victoria* but retained in *Two Italian Gentlemen*, where Frangipetra is led through the street in a net. And the scene that follows, wherein Luce and the Rector's searchers carry on a highly unedifying warfare of tongues, has a Hogarthian realism worthy of Jonson or Dekker, though it does nothing to advance the main action. This is resumed in Act IV, where we learn that Rumford has hidden a supply of staves in the imprisoned Colby's store-house, wherewith the youths of the

town are to attack the 'gentle Athenians' when they gather to see the 'waster play'. But Mrs. Colby again acts the informer, and the gownsmen secretly remove the weapons while their opponents are having a drinking-bout. Tavie, who 'hath byn in the warres', is elected captain of the town forces, and in answer to Spruce's caution, 'we'll see you performe your office,' retorts, 'Pough, leave her prittle prattle. Captaine Tavie knowe militarie discipline and service.' We seem to be hearing the voice of his worthier compatriot, Fluellen, who also probably first trod the boards in the same year.

To attract a crowd of scholars, a bout with the cudgels is arranged between two boys, Peter Brecknocke and Jockie Rumford, and afterwards two older townsmen join in. An excuse is made of the fact that the spectators are pressing upon the 'plaiers' to attack the gownsmen, whereupon Cricket calls in their reinforcements with the academic war-cry 'Clubs for theis Clounes here, Clubs'. The citizens seek to retaliate in kind, but with their armoury rifled they are helpless, and are easily beaten to their knees. The whole scene up to this point is admirably handled. It gets the true open-air atmosphere, and with its *crescendo* of movement, from the bout between the boys to the general *mêlée*, must have been very effective on the stage. But the farcical closing episode of the scene could well have been spared. Here a worthless ally of the scholars, a French braggart soldier, Mounsier Grand Combatant, who has hidden in a cobbler's stall during the fray, terrorizes an even greater coward than himself, Puff, one of the town Sergeants, who had invited him to the Burgomaster's feast, because 'it would make a horse laugh to heare him talke', and there insulted him.

The scholars have a more formidable weapon than their clubs. Mr. Rector has issued bills of discommoning, prohibiting the 'gentle Athenians' from having any dealings with leading tradesmen of the town. Thus when, in Act V, Niphle is released from prison he finds that 'the poore Coblers and Taylers are almost starved', and that the town is in revolt against its own representatives. Once again a council of war is held. Niphle is in favour of appealing to the Duke (the Queen), and is supported by Colby and Rumford, the

latter of whom is all impatience to be on his 'bonny nagges backe' and on his way to the Court. But Brecknocke, whose business as a chandler is being ruined by the discommoning order, and who is always in opposition to his successor, flatly declines to have part in this policy, and advises submission. 'I tell you in playne termes, I must either gett my estate againe, or I cannot live here.' Niphle denounces him as 'a very knowne Asse', but Brecknocke has the 'Comminaltie' behind him, and the Burgomaster is forced to a capitulation, though he protests it is merely a strategic move (ll. 2580 ff.):

'I thinke it good and necessary for the Common good that both I and also wee, though it be somewhat repugnant to our estats, to myne especially being as I am, to make shewe of submission to theis gentle Athenians, shewe I saye, mistake mee not, I saye not in deed, but in shewe, so that wee may recover our estate, and then staye and meditate upon revenge untill wee may take some occasion to overthrowe them horse and man.'

Musonius and Philenius are sent by the Rector to receive the submission, which Niphle formally tenders (ll. 2720 ff.):

'wee crave pardon, and craving pardon wee tender our supplication, that it may please you, to letts live by you, and recover our old estats, that is, to reape what benefits wee may by you, which if it please you to graunt, I being the mouth of the rest doe promise for the rest hereafter to be obedient to you in any reasonable demaund.'

Musonius, before accepting the apology, loftily improves the occasion (ll. 2750 ff.):

'Know thy selfe what thou art, thinke thy selfe no kinge because thou hast almost witt enough to be Mr Burgomaster. this arrogant humor ill befitts thy deserts, and learne to measure students, not by puffie apprehension, but according to their owne excellency, and know that learning and the Arts are divine, they fetch their pedigree from the high heavens. Jove himselfe had three of his ofspringe Schollers, and great Monarchs have triumphed more in their knowledg, then in their empire, and have thought them selves happy in philosophers familiarity. And will you base drudges springing from dunghills contend for superioritie?'

If, however, they will 'sweare true obedience and service', and

perform it, 'pittying your estats, wee will see you recover the priviledges you obtained before'. It is a sign of the new order in the 'golden Age' thus begun, that Tavie, who has been dismissed from his office of Chief Sergeant, offers to be 'true man and servant' to Cricket, who graciously undertakes to get him appointed under-skinker in his College buttery.

Club Law is in the main a remarkably effective piece of work. The writer is so austerely fixed in his satiric purposes that, as has been seen, he is seldom tempted to stray from his main theme. His results are obtained with conspicuous economy of stage-machinery. Though there are frequent changes of scene, and an unusually large number of characters are introduced, only two 'houses' with practicable doors, those of Niphle and Tavie, are needed on the stage. Except perhaps at the end of Act III. vii, and the beginning of III. ix, the action appears always to take place on the front stage, which represents, according to circumstances, a street, the city hall, or an open space. The dramatist relied for his effects on his keen observation and his quick ear for characteristic varieties of speech. The University types are, it is true, conventional. Musonius and Philenius are stage-puppets, and Cricket is merely a tricksy Vice masquerading as an undergraduate. But the leaders of the townsmen give the impression of having been drawn from the life, so skilfully are they differentiated in temperament, foibles, and tricks of speech. Relentlessly partisan as is the playwright's attitude, he does not deal random heavy-handed blows, but strikes home at his several adversaries with deadly precision.

If Fuller's well-known story is to be believed, they were by a refinement of malice made unwilling witnesses of their own discomfiture:

'The *young Schollars* . . . having gotten a discovery of some *Town privacies* from *Miles Goldsborough* (one of their own Corporation) composed a merry (but abusive) *Comedy* (which they call'd *Club-Law*) in *English*, as calculated for the capacities of such, whom they intended *spectatours* thereof. *Clare-Hall* was the place wherein it was acted, and the Major, with his Brethren, and their Wives, were invited to behold it, or rather themselves abused therein. A convenient place was assigned to the *Towns-folk* (rivetted in with *Schollars* on all

sides) where they might see and be seen. Here they did behold themselves in their own best cloathes (which the Schollars had borrowed) so livelily personated, their *habits*, *gestures*, *language*, *lieger-jests* and *expressions*, that it was hard to decide which was the *true Townsman*, whether he that *sat by*, or he who *acted on the Stage*. *Sit still* they could not from *chafing*, *go out* they could not for *crowding*, but impatiently patient were fain to attend till dismissed at the end of the *Comedy*.'

Fuller states further that the civic authorities complained to the Privy Council, who 'only sent some *slight* and *private check* to the *principall Actors* therein', and when pressed to inflict '*some more severe and publick punishment*' promised 'in short time to come to *Cambridge*' to see the play acted over again, with the townsmen once more present—whereupon there was no 'farther prosecution of the matter'.[1]

It is difficult to say whether this artistically circumstantial story has any basis in fact. There is precedent for 'y^e^ Wershippe' of the Town being present at a College play.[2] But (as Professor Moore Smith has shown)[3] the epilogue to *Club Law* 'is addressed solely and pointedly to members of the University, and gives no hint that other persons were included in the audience'. Moreover, the Acts of the Privy Council contain no mention of the play. Possibly, the tradition of an appeal having been made to that body may have arisen from the declarations of Niphle and Rumford in the comedy that they would complain to 'the Duke'.

But however this may be, it is astonishing that when the townsmen in 1601 alleged that 'the scholers of the University . . . misuse in generall all free burgesses and in particular the magistrates of the town . . . in the plays in colleges and publick sermons', the academic authorities should have affirmed the charge 'to be most untrue, malitius, and slanderous'.

Was it the certainty of being shielded by the heads of the University that encouraged a St. John's playwright, probably at Christmas 1602, to attack another civic dignitary in Part II of *The Returne from Pernassus or The Scourge of Simony*?

[1] *Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge* (1655), 156.
[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 25.
[3] *Club-Law*, 138.

The sub-title covers what is virtually an independent under-plot in the play, which, with Part I of *The Return* and *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, forms a loosely-hung trilogy.[1]

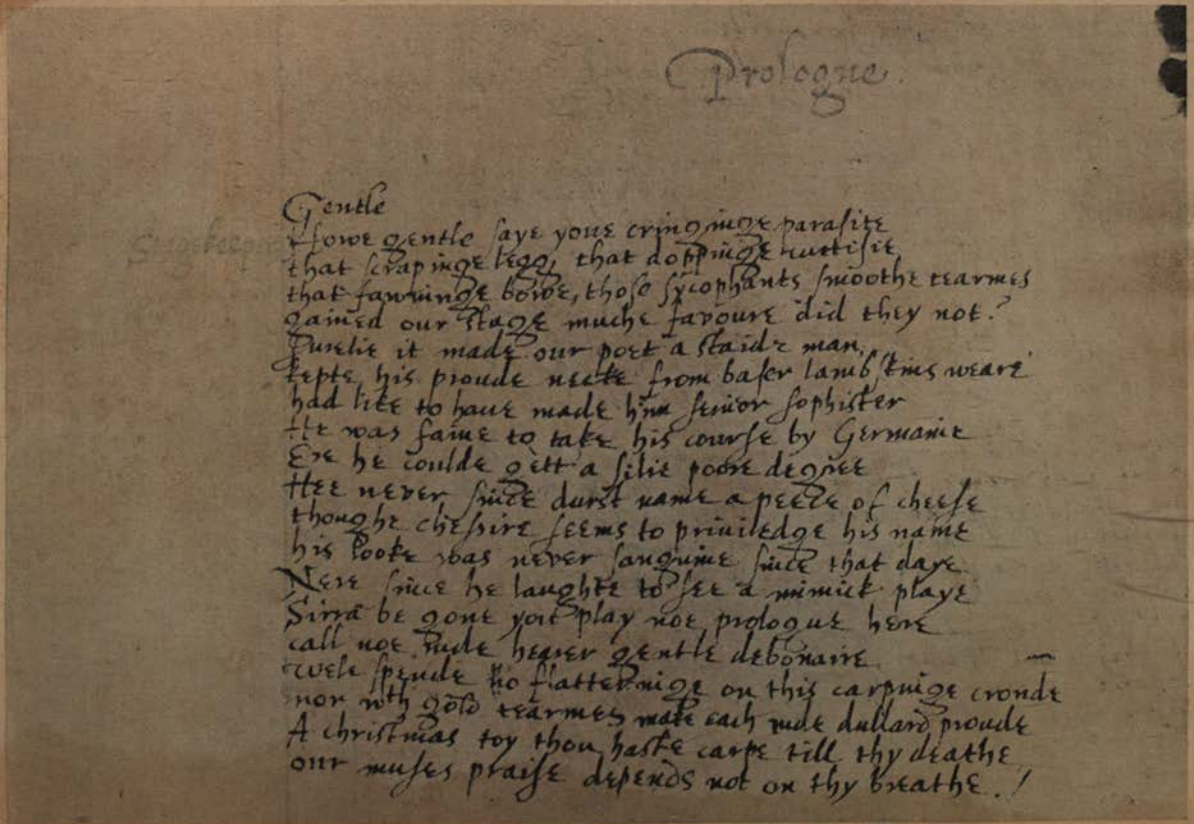
[1] *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus* and Part I of *The Return* are extant in the unique manuscript in the Bodleian, Rawlinson D. 398, No. 72. They were printed in 1886 by Mr. W. D. Macray, who gave these titles to the plays. Part II of *The Return*, 'Publiquely acted by the Students in Saint Iohns Colledge in Cambridge,' was printed by G. Eld for John Wright in 1606, in two editions with variant readings. Prof. Arber issued a reprint of one of these editions in 1879; Mr. Macray, in his 1886 volume, reprinted the play from the other and more correct edition, with important corrections from a manuscript in the possession of J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps.

The Pilgrimage cannot have been written earlier than 1598, as in Act II. 212–13 Kinsader's (i.e. Lodge's) *Satires* and Bastard's *Epigrams*, both of which were published in that year, are mentioned. It cannot, on the other hand, be later than 1598 or the beginning of 1599, for in the prologue to Part II of *The Return* the author speaks of 'hammering vpon . . . 2 schollers some foure [MS. reading] yeare', and Part II was evidently written before Elizabeth's death on March 24, 1603. *The Pilgrimage* may, like its successors, have been a Christmas play, but it is merely called 'an extemporall showe' (l. 733), the fruit of 'three daies studie' (l. 3). Part I of *The Return* is called a 'Christmas toy' (l. 18). It was probably acted in 1601, for at the close of *The Pilgrimage* the scholars have spent four years (those of the ordinary degree course) in getting to the foot of the hill (ll. 712–13), and at the beginning of Part I of *The Return* it is seven years since they started (Act I. 62–4). Part II was the 'Christmas iest' (l. 64) of 1602.

If the prologue to Part I of *The Return* is to be taken seriously, the production of *The Pilgrimage* (or some other dramatic work) prevented the author from graduating at Cambridge:

> Surelie it made our poet a staide man,
> Kepte his proude necke from baser lambskins weare,
> Had like to have made him senior sophister.
> He was faine to take his course by Germanie
> Ere he coulde gett a silie poore degree.
> Hee never since durst name a peece of cheese,
> Thoughe Chessire seems to priviledge his name.

It has been ingeniously suggested by Prof. Gollancz (cf. A. W. Ward's *English Dram. Lit.* ii. 641) that the last two lines allude to John Day, who had been indicated by Mr. Bolton Corney (*Notes and Queries*, Series III. ix. 387) as author of Part II of *The Return*, before the publication of Part I. Day was a member of Caius College, where his name is registered as 'Dey'=a dairy-man or maid, which is suggestive of Cheshire. Mr. A. H. Bullen has pointed out (*Works of John Day*, 32) that the prose tract *Peregrinatio Scholastica* has numerous points of contact with *The Return*, and it may be added that throughout Day's writings he shows many evidences of sympathy with the misfortunes of scholars. There is a precedent also in *Richardus Tertius* for the performance of a play by a Caius writer at St. John's. But Day's connexion with Caius was brief and inglorious; admitted as a sizar in 1592 he was expelled in 1593. It is therefore, as Sir A. W. Ward has urged (*op. cit.* II. 641), most improbable that he should have been in Cambridge, writing a play for the Johnians, in 1598. And between that year and 1603 many entries in Henslowe's *Diary* prove that Day was busily engaged in London on work for the professional



Prologue.

Gentle
Those gentle saye yours cringinge parasite
that scrapinge legg, that dogginge knuttisit
that fawninge bowe, those sycophants smoothe tearmes
gained our stage muche favoure did they not?
Surelie it made our poet a staide man,
kepte his proude neecke from baser lamb stimes weare
had like to haue made him senior sophister
he was faine to take his course by Germaine
Ere he coulde gett a silie poore degree
thee never since durst name a peecke of cheese
though cheshire seems to priuiledge his name
his looke was never sanguine sithe that daye
Nere since he laughte to see a mimick playe
Sirra be gone your play not prologue here
call not rude heaven gentle debonaire
cweke spende no flatteringe on this carpinge crowde
nor with gold tearmes rate each rude dullard proude
A christmas toy thou haste carpe till thy deathe
our muses praise depends not on thy breathe.!

PROLOGUE TO *THE RETURN FROM PARNASSUS*, PART I, CONTAINING THE DRAMATIST'S ENIGMATIC ALLUSIONS TO HIS NAME AND ACADEMIC CAREER

As this underplot is inspired by the feud between the townsmen and the civic authorities, and thus forms a sequel to *Club Law*, it may be briefly considered by itself before the trilogy is discussed in its other and wider aspects.

The official attacked in *The Scourge of Simony* scenes is the Recorder.[1] He has been supposed to stand, in broad presentment, for Francis Brackyn, at this time Deputy Recorder of Cambridge, who afterwards as Recorder (1609–24) took a leading part in asserting the claims of the burgesses against the University. But though Brackyn was attacked in 1615 by Ruggle in *Ignoramus*, it is doubtful if he was sufficiently prominent in 1602 to be identified with the Recorder in the St. John's play.

This worthy would rob the scholars, if he could, of the splendid homes of learning bequeathed by the piety of their forefathers (III. ii. 1218–25)—

> But had the world no wiser men than I,
> Weede pen the prating parates in a cage,
> A chayre, a candle and a Tinder-box,
> A thacked chamber and a ragged gowne
> Should be their landes and whole possessions.
> Knights, Lords, and lawyers should be log'd & dwel
> Within those ouer stately heapes of stone,
> Which doting syres in old age did erect.

He cannot endure, in his insolence of office, that the University should give poor students the chance of rising to higher stations (III. ii. 1201–7):

> Why is not strange to see a ragged clarke,
> Some start upp weauer or some butchers sonne:
> That scrubd of late within a sleeueles gowne;
> When the commencement, like a morice dance,
> Hath put a bell or two about his legges,
> Created him a sweete cleane gentleman,
> How then he gins to follow fashions.

stage. Could any one so employed have been allowed by the academic authorities, with their hostile attitude towards that stage, to produce three plays at St. John's? The more we learn about the relations between the Universities and the popular theatre, the more unlikely this becomes.

[1] The scenes in which he appears are not laid at Cambridge, but in London. Cf. the allusions to Moore-fieldes, III. i. 1187, and ii. 1277. But a London official would have no reason for constantly inveighing against scholars.

He finds fit allies in Sir Frederick (or Raderick), a dissolute and rapacious patron of livings, and his son, Amoretto, a vain and affected 'gentleman of the Temple', who is more interested in love-poetry and hunting than in law. Sir Raderick shares to the full the Recorder's hatred of scholars: 'There should neuer a one of them all haue aboue twentie a yeare: a good stipend, a good stipend,... tis a shame indeede there should be any such priuilege for proud beggars as Cambridge and Oxford are.' Yet he had sent his son to St. John's College, where Amoretto had turned to account the abilities of a poor scholar, Academico, who 'made an oration for' him 'once on the Queenes day, and a show that' he 'got some credit by'. But when Academico now begs for his good offices with his father to help him to a benefice, Amoretto has forgotten him, and puts him to flight with a shower of technical hunting-terms. He became advocate instead for Immerito, the boorish son of the country bumpkin, Stercutio, who is ready to give as many golden 'thanks' as are needed to secure the living. The only other test of the applicant's fitness to hold a cure of souls is a farcical examination (III. i) conducted by the Recorder and Sir Raderick under the two heads of his 'learning' and his 'vertues', ending with a trial whether he be 'a man of good vtterance', that is whether he 'can aske for the strayed Heifer with the white face, as also chide the boyes in the belfrie, and bid the Sexton whippe out the dogges'. Having satisfied the examiners on this crucial point, and having engaged to reserve part of the tithes for his patron, Immerito gets the benefice.

This is not the only nefarious transaction in which the Recorder plays into Sir Raderick's hands. He sets the law in motion to secure for him the forfeiture of the land of the luckless Prodigo, whom by feigned courtesies the Knight has encouraged in his spendthrift courses. Meanwhile he discusses with the young Templar (IV. i. 1534–46 and ii. 1599–1605) problems of fee-simple and fee-tail, tail-general and tail-special, upon which 'Littleton is very copious'.

Here the dramatist turns to his purpose another of the points at issue between Town and Gown. The academic jurists were students of the Roman Civil law, and were anxious to revive its influence and authority. The defenders of the rights of

the Town were common lawyers, one of whose text-books since the fifteenth century had been Littleton's *Tenures*, while another, Plowden's *Commentaries*, was of Elizabethan origin. Hence the ironical address to the Recorder later in the scene (IV. ii. 1712 ff.):

'I pray you, *Monsieur Ploidon*, of what Vniversitie was the first Lawyer of, none forsooth, for your Lawe is ruled by reason, and not by Arte: great reason indeed that a Ploydenist should bee mounted on a trapt Palfrey, with a round Veluet dish on his head, to keepe warme the broth of his witte, and a long Gowne, that makes him looke like a *Cedant arma togae*, whilest the poore *Aristotelians* walke in a shorte cloake and a close *Venetian* hoase, hard by the Oyster-wife; and the silly Poet goes muffled in his Cloake to escape the Counter.'

But the Recorder himself, with evident reference to some actual episode, bears the clearest witness to the hostility of the gownsmen, young and old, towards his branch of the profession (III. ii. 1255–60):

> There shall you see a puny boy start vp,
> And make a theame against common lawyers.
> Then the old vnweldy Camels gin to dance,
> This fiddling boy playing a fit of mirth:
> The gray bearde scrubbe, and laugh and cry good, good,
> To them againe, boy, scurdge the barbarians.

He comforts himself with the thought that those laugh best who laugh last:

> Yet knights and lawyers hope to see the day,
> When we may share here there possessions,
> And make Indentures of their chaffred skins:
> Dice of their bones to throw in meriment.

In a broad sense, which could not be foreseen in 1602, the Recorder's aspirations were to be realized, for the victory of Parliament over the Stuart kings was a vindication of English common law over the doctrine of royal prerogative as expounded by Cowell and his fellow civilians.

It has been convenient to treat first the scenes in which the Recorder figures as, in some sort, a link between *Club Law* and the *Parnassus* plays, and as loosely related to the main theme of the trilogy—the trials and sufferings of scholars.

The Pilgrimage to Parnassus is an allegory of the difficulties they encounter during the period of their University studies. With words of warning from the grey-haired Consiliodorus, his son Philomusus and his nephew Studiosus set forth for Parnassus by the traditional path of the Trivium. Already supposed to know something of grammar, they pass first into Logic-land, where Studiosus, to direct them through a country 'muche like Wales, full of craggie mountaines and thornie vallies', has got 'Jack Seton's mapp'. This was a treatise on Aristotelian lines, by John Seton, a former Roman Catholic Fellow of St. John's, which was the favourite text-book of the orthodox, while the treatise by Peter Ramus was in favour with Calvinists. Thus we get the first hint of the anti-Puritan temper of the playwright. Yet he is opposed to all excess. He shows the pilgrims resisting the seductions of Madido, a votary of the wine-cup, who seeks to persuade them that 'Parnassus and Hellicon are but the fables of the poets: there is no true Parnassus but the thirde lofte in a wine taverne, noe true Hellicon but a cup of browne bastard'.

They then reach the 'land of Rhetorique', where their ears are filled with the cadences of Latin prose (iii. 296–8):

> Harke shrille Don Cicero, how sweete he sings!
> See how the groves wonder at his sweet note,
> And listen unto theire sweet nightingale!

It is fitting that here they should be assailed by Stupido, arch-enemy of humanism, a Puritan of a more extreme school than Rainolds, for he includes not only the stage but all profane arts under his ban. He greets his 'welbeloved brethren' with the news that he has spent his day in analysing 'a peece of an hommelie according to Ramus, and surelie in my minde and simple opinion M^r^ Peter maketh all things verie plaine and easie. As for Setons *Logique* trulie I never looke on it but it makes my head ache!' He declaims against the 'vaine arts of Rhetorique, Poetrie, and Philosophie; there is noe sounde edifying knowledg in them . . . they are more vaine than a paire of organs or a morrice daunce'. Let the pilgrims sell their profane books and buy 'a good Martin, and

twoo or three hundreth of chatechismes of Jeneva's printe'. Swayed by his confident discourse, the pilgrims begin to doubt whether the arts are vain and artists merely 'phantastique fools'. Stupido, as a final proof of their depravity, instances their 'diabolicall ruffs and wicked great breeches full of sin'. But the scholars recover their balance of mind and fare on to the land of Poetry.

Here they pass through their sharpest trial, for Amoretto, a voluptuary who perverts poetry into the instrument of sensual passion, bids them crop the joys of youth while they may. They do not come through the temptation unscathed, and finding that wantonness is 'sourelie sweete', Studiosus inveighs against 'poetrie's faire baites'. Philomusus reproves him in words that breathe the spirit of Sidney's *Apologie* (v. 534–9):

> O doe not wronge this musicke of the soule,
> The fairest childe that ere the soule broughte forthe,
> Which none contemn but some rude foggie squires
> That knowe not to esteeme of witt or arte!
> Noe epitaphe adorne his baser hearse
> That in his lifetime cares not for a verse.

The last stage is through the land of Philosophy, where they get a forewarning of the disillusionment that awaits them when they have reached their journey's end. They meet an 'ould schoolefelowe', Ingenioso, who is hurrying in the opposite direction, and who refuses indignantly to turn back with them. 'What, I travell to Parnassus? why I have burnt my bookes, splitted my pen, rent my papers, and curst the cooseninge harts that brought mee up to noe better fortune.' The words must have fallen familiarly on the ears of many of the St. John's audience, for they are an echo of Nash's outcry in *Pierce Penilesse* (1592), three years after he had left the College and had had his first experiences of life in London. And in a bitter tirade suggested by a later passage in the same tract, Ingenioso contrasts his own fortunes with those of Cambridge tradesmen like the carrier Hobson, who finds 'more money in the tayles of twelve jades than a scholler in a 200 bookes'. He bids the pilgrims turn home again, unless they mean to be 'vacui viatores', but Philomusus retorts that though Parnassus

hill 'wants coyne it wants not true contente', and the pair press on to the 'laurell mounte', where for a time they are happy and 'lie with Phoebus by the Muses' springes'.

The Pilgrimage is thus an allegory, slight and conventional in itself, but vivified by the dramatist's command of supple and skilfully modulated prose, by his pungent humour, and his quick eye for realistic detail.

Part I of *The Return* is, in his own phrase, penned 'with ruder quill' (Prol. to Part II, 79). There is certainly no falling off in power, but the words may have reference to the dropping, except in the earliest scenes, of the allegorical device, and the substitution of a looser dramatic framework, in which the further fortunes of Philomusus and Studiosus form only one of the threads of interest. The two scholars, after a brief period of bliss on the sacred hill, find that Ingenioso has spoken but too truly, and joining forces with him and the tippling student Luxurioso, they set out to make their way in the world. They are played forth by the Muses, whose strains are soon drowned in the chorus of execration raised by the tradesmen—a draper, a tailor, and a tapster—whose accounts they have left unpaid. It is the old quarrel, which had already inspired some of the most amusing scenes in *Pedantius*, between the devotees of the arts and those with or without whom they are equally unable to live. As the draper puts it, in his account of his call upon a lean-faced scholar for his money, he 'said he was makinge an oration which everie scurvey vulgar felowe, everie measuringe peasante, must not interrupt; he said he was about a sentence that was worth all the cloth in my shopp'.

The tradesmen's wrongs are, however, avenged, for the defaulters have to tread a true *via dolorosa* in their shifts to get a living, with no other consolation than moral commonplaces borrowed from Senecan drama (II. i. 620–3):

Phil. What shall wee doe in this adversitie?
Stud. We muste make profit of necessitie.
Phil. When thinkest thou better future will begin?
Stud. I nere sawe winter but a springe came in.

Philomusus takes the double office of sexton and parish clerk, and the 'voice that was made to pronounce a poet or

an oratour' has 'to be imployed, like a belman in the inquirie of a strayed beaste'. But he is dismissed for incompetency, with merely a passport to save him from arrest.

Studiosus fares little better as tutor in a household, where he has to wait at meals, work all harvest time, and make an obeisance to his pupil whenever he teaches him. But his gorge rises when one of the 'blew coates' perches above him 'at the latter dinner', and he is consequently packed off.

The pair in desperation then fly to foreign climes, to Rome or Rheims, in the hope apparently of being rewarded by the Roman Catholic Church as 'English fugitives'. But even this hope fails, and in Part II of *The Return* (I. iv) they return to try their fortunes again at home. They first turn their travel to account by posing as a French physician and his man, but their trickery is found out, and pursuivants are sent in search of them, and 'a lodging bespoken' for them in Newgate (III. v. 1423–6). Philomusus, his head full of the arguments urged in the Spenserian Cave of Despair, counsels immediate suicide, but Studiosus again pours forth a flood of Senecan maxims enjoining patience in adversity. Hence, in a scene (IV. iii) of which more has to be said below, they try to earn a pittance on the professional stage, though life itself has given them such a 'tragick part' that Philomusus cries:

'Would I weere silent actor in my grave!'

From playing they turn to fiddling, with equally ill-starred results, and at last they resolve to fly far from crowded haunts to some 'humble dale' among 'the downes of Kent', where they will lead the pastoral life, looking to woods and rocks to 'proue kind, since men proue pittilesse'.

It is an unexpectedly Arcadian close to their motley adventures in the Elizabethan underworld. The sixteenth-century Cambridge dramatist, in his vivid series of sketches, illustrates the same sombre moral of the vanity of the scholar's worldly aspirations that the massive rhetoric of the eighteenth-century Oxford moralist was afterwards to make current coin:

When first the college rolls receive his name
The young enthusiast quits his ease for fame,
Resistless burns the fever of renown,
Caught from the strong contagion of the gown:

O'er Bodley's dome his future labours spread,
And Bacon's mansion trembles o'er his head.

. . . . . .

Deign on the passing world to turn thine eyes,
And pause awhile from Letters, to be wise,
There mark what ills the scholar's life assail,
Toil, envy, want, the patron, and the gaol.

It is a theme that will never grow out-worn, while youth has to take the plunge from the cloistered life of contemplation into the harsh realities of the work-a-day world.

Part I of *The Return* has a second plot very slightly concerned with this immemorial theme, but perpetuating for us some contemporary literary judgements of remarkable interest. Ingenioso takes service with the affected, vain-glorious Gullio, who is partly modelled on the 'upstart' in *Pierce Penilesse*. With his vapourings about his exploits 'at Cals, at Portingall voyage, and now verie latelie in Ireland', and with his fantastic courtship of his mistress Lesbia, whose squirrel and monkey are included in his commendations, he is a worthy recruit to the grotesque regiment of amorous *milites gloriosi*. But what distinguishes him among his fellows is that he seeks to shine also as a poet and critic of poets. And his chosen model is Shakespeare—the Shakespeare of *Venus and Adonis*. In rehearsing love-speeches for Lesbia's ear, he begins by adapting to his use the couplet that closes the first stanza of the poem (III. i. 1006-8):

Pardon, faire ladie, thoughe sicke-thoughted Gullio maks amaine unto thee, and like a bould-faced sutore, gins to woo thee.

Soon afterwards he quotes the second stanza, and even when he orders Ingenioso to write specimen verses for his mistress 'in two or three divers vayns, in Chaucer's, Gower's, and Spencer's and Mr. Shakspeare's', he again quotes the opening lines of *Venus and Adonis*, as the preferable model, and cries sentimentally, 'O sweet Mr. Shakspeare! I'le have his picture in my study at the courte'. When Ingenioso submits his drafts, three stanzas in Chaucer's rhyme-royal are censured as 'dull, harshe, and spiritless'; the imitation of *The Faerie Queene*, 'a gentle pen rides prickinge on the plaine', gets

equally short shrift; but the lines 'in Mr. Shakspear's vayne on the *Venus and Adonis* model, win Gullio's enthusiastic approval (IV. i. 1221–7):

> Ey marry, Sir, these have some life in them! Let this duncified worlde esteeme ot Spencer and Chaucer, I'le worshipp sweet Mr. Shakspeare, and to honoure him will lay his Venus and Adonis under my pillowe, as wee reade of one (I doe not well remember his name, but I am sure he was a kinge), slept with Homer under his bed's heade.

No one who has grasped the spirit of these scenes, and of the trilogy as a whole, will ever make the mistake of quoting these outbursts of Gullio as part of Shakespeare's 'century of praise'. The academic author chose the most damning way of assailing the luscious sentimentality of *Venus and Adonis* when he made the poem the favourite reading of the amorous empty-headed fop, who can never mention its author without the prefix that betokened his newly-won gentility.

It is therefore no surprise that in Part II of *The Return* the dramatist, in the thin disguise of Iudicio, should in plain terms reprove Shakespeare for his choice of poetic subjects, though he recognizes the beauty of his verse and its poignancy (I. ii. 305–8):

> Who loves not *Adons* love, or *Lucrece* rape?
> His sweeter verse contaynes hart throbbing line,
> Could but a grauer subiect him content,
> Without loues foolish lazy languishment.

This is one of a number of magisterial judgements by Iudicio upon poets included in Bodenham's *Belvedere*, an anthology published in 1600, whose names Ingenioso reads out in turn. How half-hearted is the praise of Shakespeare compared with that of Spenser:

> A sweeter Swan then euer song in Poe,
> A shriller Nightingale then euer blest
> The prouder groues of self-admiring Rome.

Ingenioso adds a *requiescat* over his tomb:

> But softly may our Homer's ashes rest,
> That lie by mery *Chaucer's* noble chest.

Yet it was these two masters of epic, now sleeping eternally

side by side, whom Gullio had contemptuously rejected in favour of the fashionable love-poet from Stratford! There was at least one man who did not shrink from rebuking the generation that bought seven editions of *Venus and Adonis* between 1594 and 1602, and left (as he and other contemporaries believed) the singer of *The Faerie Queene* to die from lack of 'mayntenance for his deare releife'.

Iudicio's incisive estimates of other contemporary men of letters—among them, Daniel, Lodge, Drayton, Davies, Marston, and Nash—do not need discussion here. But the mention of them by name should make us additionally chary of identifying any of the characters in the trilogy with individual writers of the day. Even Ingenioso, though he reproduces phrases from Nash's writings and his general attitude and temper, cannot be merely a portrait of the satirist, for he himself describes him as 'a fellow that carryed the deadly stockado in his pen, whose muse was armed with a gagtooth, and his pen possest with *Hercules* furies'. Still less are Furor Poeticus and Phantasma, who make their first appearance in Part II of *The Return* (I. vi) to be taken as personal caricatures. Furor—a sworn brother of ancient Pistol—embodies all that is most grotesque in 'high, tip-toe strutting poesy'; Phantasma is merely a mouthpiece for tags of Latin verse. The grandiloquence and pedantry, of which they are the farcical types, were to be found widespread in the literature of the time.

Marlowe and Ben Jonson are included in Iudicio's critical appreciations, and we have thus finally to consider the Cambridge dramatist's attitude towards the professional stage. His intimate knowledge of contemporary plays was turned almost entirely to satirical use. Marlowe's genius gets a tribute, but at the expense of his character, and even this is qualified by Ingenioso's acrid epigram that follows:

Iud. *Marlowe* was happy in his buskind muse,
Alas vnhappy in his life and end.

. . . . . .

Ing. Our *Theater* hath lost, *Pluto* hath got
A Tragick penman for a driery plot.

Ben Jonson receives the equivocal praise of being 'the wittiest fellow of a Bricklayer in England', to which Ingenioso

retorts, 'A meere Empyrick, one that getts what he hath by obseruation, and makes onely nature priuy to what he indites, so slow an Inuentor that he were better betake himself to his old trade of Bricklaying'. Kyd is not mentioned by name throughout the trilogy, but there is frequent ridicule of his mannerisms in *The Spanish Tragedie*. Gullio quotes several of its most notorious lines, and the Senecan dialogues between Philomusus and Studiosus, of which an example has been given, are a travesty of the moralizing passages in the play. Nor is it a compliment to its hero that Burbage, when testing Studiosus's powers as an actor, should tell him, 'I think your voice would serue for *Hieronimo*'. The references to Shakespeare as a dramatist are fewer, but equally ungracious. Burbage tells Philomusus, 'I like your face, and the proportion of your body for *Richard* the 3,' whereupon he quotes the opening lines. Gullio, in one of his rhapsodies on Lesbia, parodies Mercutio's, 'Laura to his lady was a kitchen-wench'. But it is at Shakespeare the actor, not the playwright, that the author of the trilogy lets fly his keenest shafts.

For if he had little love for the professional dramatists, he hated and despised the professional players. Acting is in his eyes 'the basest trade', to which scholars would only take as an alternative to suicide. Here he is in the straight line of academic tradition. But his point of view is not exactly that of either Rainolds or Gager. The Puritan divine banned players as agents of the Devil; the Christ Church jurist looked upon them askance as stigmatized 'infamous' by the civil law. The St. John's dramatist loathed them as 'mimic apes', hirelings practising a sham art at the expense of those whose brains they exploited. They are (IV. iii, 1887–8)—

> . . . leaden spouts
> That nought doe vent but what they do receiue;

their function is merely to mouth 'words that better wits haue framed'.

All this must be borne in mind in considering the famous but often misunderstood scene (Part II of *The Return*, IV. iii) where Burbage and Kempe test the fitness of Philomusus and Studiosus for the stage. The author of the trilogy may have

seen these members of the Lord Chamberlain's company at the 'Theater' or the 'Globe', for he evidently knew London well. Or he may have been present at performances at Cambridge when they were on tour. For the order of the Privy Council in July 1593[1] did not put an end to the visits of travelling companies to the University towns. The accounts of the Vice-Chancellors and the City Chamberlains at Oxford, and of the Town Treasurers at Cambridge, give documentary evidence of this. The Lord Chamberlain's men are mentioned in the Cambridge accounts in 1594–5,[2] and it may have been then, and not, as is generally thought, in 1601–2 that *Hamlet* (as is stated on the title-page of the quarto of 1603) was acted at Cambridge.[3]

But wherever and whenever he had seen them, whether in *Hamlet* or other plays, the St. John's dramatist regarded Burbage and Kempe with peculiar hostility, as the leading representatives of their detested tribe. It is in a spirit of the bitterest irony that he shows the illiterate pair, who speak of 'that writer *Ovid*, and that writer *Metamorphosis*', putting Cambridge scholars through their paces, and impudently asserting that 'few of the vniuersity men pen plaies well'. And it is the climax of their impudence that they proclaim one of their own 'cry of players' as more than a match for the University wits and the learned Jonson:

'Why heres our fellow *Shakespeare* puts them all downe. I and *Ben Ionson* too. O that *Ben Ionson* is a pestilent fellow, he brought vp *Horace* giving the Poets a pill, but our fellow *Shakespeare* hath giuen him a purge that made him bewray his credit.'

Whatever may have been the purge administered by Shakespeare in return for the pill which Horace (Jonson) gives to Crispinus (Marston) in the *Poetaster*, v. i, to make him disgorge his fustian phrases, it is only the ignorant partisanship of his colleagues that hails the actor-playwright as victor over his cultured opponent.

And yet these base mechanicals can afford to laugh in

[1] Cf. *sup.*, pp. 224–5. [2] Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 538.
[3] See further '*Hamlet* at Oxford,' by the present writer, in *The Fortnightly Review*, August, 1913.

the faces of those who hold them in contempt. As Kempe cries to Philomusus and Studiosus (IV. iii. 1826–32):

'Is it not better to make a foole of the world as I haue done, then to be fooled of the world, as you schollers are? But be merry my lads, you haue happened vpon the most excellent vocation in the world for money: they come North and South to bring it to our playhouse, and for honours, who of more report, then *Dick Burbage* & *Will Kempe?*'

And the scholars enviously contrast the actors' fortunes with their own (V. i. 1960–8):

> Vile world, that lifts them vp to hye degree,
> And treades vs downe in groueling misery.
> *England* affordes those glorious vagabonds,
> That carried earst their fardels on their backes.
> Coursers to ride on through the gazing streets,
> Sooping it in their glaring Satten sutes,
> And Pages to attend their maisterships:
> With mouthing words that better wits haue framed,
> They purchase lands, and now Esquiers are namde.

There can be little doubt that the last line refers in part to Shakespeare's acquisition of New Place in 1597, and the grant of a coat-of-arms to his father in 1599. Thus the author of the trilogy attacked his great contemporary at every point—as love-poet, dramatist, actor, and landed gentleman. He could not, indeed, foresee that Shakespeare's name was to become the symbol for all time of the triumph of the popular stage towards which the Universities had been consistently hostile. But could he have foreseen this, he would still have been unmoved. Haughtily self-reliant, contemptuous alike of the verdicts of the crowd and of the awards of fate, he is one of those of whom in all ages it is written:

> Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni.

Nor did he spare even those of his own household. In the Prologue to Part II of *The Return* (68–73) he loftily asserts:

> Framen aswell, we might with easie straine,
> With far more praise, and with as little paine,
> Storyes of loue, where forne the wondring bench,
> The lisping gallant might inioy his wench.
> Or make some Sire acknowledge his lost sonne,
> Found when the weary act is almost done.

Here he decries the type of play specially popular at the time on Cambridge College stages. The lines as a whole would apply to any of the comedies discussed in the previous chapter, but the last couplet seems aimed directly at 'farre-famed *Laelia*'. And indeed nothing could be further removed than the *Parnassus* trilogy from the conventions and ideals of neo-classic dramatic art. It is, especially in the two parts of *The Return*, a series of loosely-strung scenes which make their effect by their keen observation, their wit, and the salt of their style. But when once academic drama abandons academic ideals, it decrees, sooner or later, its own end. It will always be outmatched when it meets popular drama on the latter's terms. Thus the *Parnassus* trilogy is, in curious wise, both the most brilliant product of the Tudor University stage and a signal that academic drama would find it increasingly difficult to maintain its distinctive character in the days to come.

But whatever the future might have in store, the development of University drama in the Tudor epoch is of enduring significance in the history of English education and of the renaissance stage. With the imperfect materials at our command all generalization is difficult, and is liable to be overthrown by fresh evidence. Nevertheless, a few closing deductions may be attempted.

In the first place it may be noted that Oxford and Cambridge, though with the same ends before them, seem to have contributed in different measure and fashion to the academic stage. It can scarcely be a matter of chance that most of the tragedies discussed in these pages were performed at Oxford, and nearly all the comedies at Cambridge. We know, of course, the names of Oxford comedies that have been lost, and of Cambridge tragedies that have suffered the same fate. Nor is it possible to form even an approximate estimate of the number of revivals at the two Universities of classical tragedies and comedies respectively. But in the case of original or adapted plays,

Melpomene seems to have had more votaries by the Isis and Thalia by the Cam.

However this may be, it is certain that in the Tudor period Oxford achieved her most distinctive work in the field of tragedy, and Cambridge in that of comedy. The Cambridge writers of tragedy, Christopherson, Watson, Alabaster, and (to a less degree) Legge, were orthodox followers, except for their subject-matter, of Euripides or Seneca. Their Oxford colleagues adventured into less-trodden ways. Grimald did not scruple to mingle lyrical and humorous episodes with the loftiest scriptural themes. Gager, even when bringing on the stage the august figures of ancient epic, sought to teach the tragic Muse a lowlier strain—not to 'blow through bronze' but 'breathe through silver'. *Archipropheta* and *Vlysses Redux*, whatever view may be taken of their merits, are not merely echoes and imitations, they bear upon them the authentic birth-mark of the renaissance age.

In comedy, on the other hand, Tudor Oxford has left nothing of first-rate interest. *Thersites* and *Bellum Grammaticale* are merely entertaining adaptations from foreign sources, suitable for performance by undergraduates still on the modern schoolboy plane; *Narcissus*, for all its pungent wit, is nothing more than a Twelfth-night merriment. Against these humorous 'toys' Cambridge can place achievements in at least four different types of full-blown comedy. *Gammer Gurtons Nedle* is a brilliant dramatization on the Plautine model of characters and incidents from Tudor village life. The long series of Italianate Latin comedies (which suggest that Cambridge was more sensitive at the time to southern literary influences than Oxford) form no unworthy foil and pendant to the London vernacular plays of kindred origin. *Pedantius*, sole survivor of its class in the Tudor period, adapts classic and humanist types to purposes of personal caricature: *Club Law* and the *Parnassus* trilogy are unique of their kind. It needs the genius of an Aristophanes or of an Ibsen to bring such themes as theirs *sub specie aeternitatis*, but there is no less absolute standard which these Cambridge topical comedies need fear to face.

Comedy can, as a rule, be staged with less preparation

and expense than tragedy, and its apparent predominance at Cambridge may have been partly due to the fact that theatrical performances there were more widely distributed than in the sister University. Trinity, King's, St. John's, Queens', Jesus, Christ's and Clare Hall are all prominent in Cambridge dramatic annals. At Oxford there appear to have been only three chief theatrical centres—Christ Church, Magdalen, and St. John's, though the Merton stage was active till 1568, and there were occasional performances at Trinity, Exeter, and elsewhere.

In any case, the productions at Cambridge during this period —except, of course, during the royal visit of 1564—seem on the whole to have been on a simpler scale than those at Oxford. For the comedies dealt with in this volume, a stage with fixed 'houses' probably sufficed. Nor did the Trinity College tragedies Ἰεφθάε and *Roxana* require elaborate setting, though the ghost-scenes in the latter gave an opportunity for supernatural effects. *Richardus Tertius*, among the extant Cambridge Elizabethan plays, probably made the heaviest demands upon its producers, for it involved the use of an outer and inner stage, and considerable display of costumes and properties in the shows and processions introduced.

For a tragedy acted at Trinity in 1594/5 the Master, Thomas Nevile, and the Seniors asked the Chancellor, Burghley, in a letter dated January 28, to obtain them the loan of garments from the Revels Office:

'Whereas we intend for the exercise of yonge gentlemen and scholars in oure Colledge to sett forth certaine Comoedies and one Tragoedye, there being in that Tragoedie sondry personages of greatest estate to be represented in auncient princely attire w^ch^ is no where to be had, but within the office of the Roabes at the Tower: it is our humble request . . . that upon sufficient securitie we might be furnished from thence with such meete necessaries as are required.'

As the letter continues 'w^ch^ favor we have founde heretofore . . . hath the rather emboldned us at this time', this was evidently not the first application of the kind.[1]

[1] Printed in Ellis, *Original Letters*, Ser. 1. iii. 33, from Lansdowne MSS. 78, 16. The comedies and the tragedy were doubtless those performed at Trinity College before Lord Essex, at the Bachelors' Commencement, 159½, when *Laelia* was also acted at Queens' (*supra*, p. 289).

Nevertheless, at Oxford the general level of production seems to have been more sumptuous. Even the theatrical arrangements at King's College for the entertainment of Elizabeth were surpassed, if we may judge from the contemporary accounts, by those at Christ Church two years afterwards. And at a later period in the Queen's reign, Holinshed's description of the performances in honour of Alasco, the elaborate stage-directions in Gager's plays, and even the attacks of Rainolds, prove the care and expense that were lavished upon scenic details. Applications from Oxford to the Revels Office, or some other outside source for help, in 'furnishing' the plays seem to have been more frequent than from Cambridge. The New College appeal in Mary's reign for garments for the Christmas tragedy; the Vice-Chancellor's petition to Leicester in 1569, for 'apparaiti' for the show of *The Destruction of Thebes*; the present of gloves to John Lyly for lending costumes to Christ Church for the plays acted before the Chancellor in 1584/5; Gager's acknowledgement to Lord Buckhurst of his good offices in helping to equip *Vlysses Redux* worthily—all show how anxious the academic producers were to leave nothing undone that could secure success. There is little here to give countenance to the traditional view of the primitive simplicity of Elizabethan stage-arrangements, founded upon Sidney's half-serious *obiter dicta* in his *Apologie for Poetrie*.

Authors and actors who had spectacular effects so much at heart were tacitly acknowledging that the plays had other than purely didactic purposes. In this regard, curiously enough, the wheel came nearly full circle. The earliest College merriments had been frankly recreative. The Reformation and the Renaissance turned academic drama to religious and pedagogical purposes. But with the widening rift between humanists and Puritans in the later sixteenth century, Scriptural plays disappeared from the University stage. It continued, however, to fulfil two distinct though allied educational functions; it was a handmaid both to scholarship and to rhetoric. It helped to familiarize the younger students with the text of the classical dramatists, with the practice of original composition in Latin verse or prose, even, as in *Bellum Grammaticale*, with the elements of Latin accidence. At the same time it

trained them in the art of declamation, in the management of voice and 'action', which had counted for so much in the educational system of imperial Rome, and which was particularly serviceable to the young men of birth and wealth who passed from the Universities into the sphere of public affairs. Gager, in words already quoted,[1] vindicated both these uses of Oxford acting. Thomas Heywood, referring to Cambridge performances of about the same period, lays the main stress on the second of the two functions:

'In the time of my residence in Cambridge I have seen tragedyes, comedyes, historyes, pastorals, and shewes, publickly acted, in which graduates of good place and reputation have been specially parted. This is held necessary for the emboldening of their *Junior* schollers to arme them with audacity against they come to bee imployed in any publicke exercise, as in the reading of the dialecticke, rhetoricke, ethicke, mathematicke, the physicke or metaphysike lectures. . . . To come to rhetoricke: it not onely emboldens a scholler to speake, but instructs him to speake well, and with judgement, to observe his commas, colons, and full poynts, his parentheses, his breathing spaces, and distinctions, to keepe a decorum in his countenance, neither to frowne when he should smile, nor to make unseemely and disguised faces in the delivery of his words . . . neither to buffet his deske like a mad-man, nor stand in his place like a divelesse image, demurely plodding and without any smooth and formal motion. It instructs him to fit his phrases to his action, and his action to his phrase, and his pronuntiation to them both.'[2]

Heywood had, no doubt, good warrant for these statements, but writing many years after he had left the University, and bent on vindicating the moral and intellectual benefits of acting, he keeps these too exclusively in view. He was probably in residence at Cambridge at the time when Latinized Italian love-comedies were the favourite form of theatrical entertainment, and it is difficult to believe that these were not performed mainly for amusement, like the early *ludi* of the Christmas Revels. *Laelia*, in fact, as has been seen, was part of a pro-

[1] *Supra*, pp. 235–6.

[2] *An Apology for Actors* (1612), 28. As Heywood was born about 1572, and as he was play-writing for Henslowe in 1596, and possibly earlier, his residence at Cambridge must have been at some period between 1587 and 1595.

gramme in honour of the visit of Essex and other nobles. On such ceremonial occasions, as well as during the 'progresses' of the Queen herself, the Oxford and Cambridge stage became virtually an outlying branch of the Court Revels.

But the pedagogical bias was never formally abandoned, and it helps to account for the seemingly fitful development of the vernacular academic play. *Thersites* and *Gammer Gurtons Nedle* have few successors in the sixteenth century, and as late as 1592 the Cambridge authorities could declare 'Englishe Comedies . . . wee presentlie haue none'. Hostility to the professional companies, with their stock-in-trade in the vulgar tongue, also served to perpetuate the predominance of Latin on the College stage. But in whatever language plays were written they were born of one and the same spirit, and they had to be produced and acted in similar ways. University authorities might treat College performances as merely an item in the educational curriculum. But in encouraging them they were giving an impulse to forces they could not limit nor control. Marlowe, Greene, Nash, and other gownsmen carried their early experience of Cambridge plays and players into the service of the London professional stage. The nobles who, as undergraduate spectators or actors, had been familiarized with the learned drama became patrons of the travelling companies that filled Tudor England almost from end to end with theatrical activity.

Hence University drama is memorable both for what it consciously achieved and for what it effected in its own despite. It was the instrument of an academic culture not critical or discriminating, but sagacious and humane, which made the life of antiquity—of Rome, and of Greece as seen through Roman spectacles—more real to the educated Englishman who was neither an ecclesiastic nor a professed scholar than it has probably been at any time before or since.

And because Oxford and Cambridge can never, even when they have sought to do so, divorce themselves from the national life and genius, the plays that they had fostered for their own purposes became, against 'the grand possessors' wills', an organic part of that mighty drama which is our most treasured heritage from the England of the Tudors.

APPENDIX I

ABSALON (Brit. Mus. Stowe MS. 957).

In pp. 63–4 of the text I have described briefly some of the characteristics of this anonymous manuscript play, and have indicated my opinion that it would probably be a mistake to identify it with the *Absalon* of Thomas Watson, referred to by Ascham in *The Scholemaster*. But whoever was its author, the play is a notable humanist treatment of the Biblical story, and is worth somewhat detailed examination, both in relation to the Old Testament narrative, and to Peele's vernacular play on the same theme.

This Latin tragedy has a breadth of treatment which distinguishes it from the ordinary neo-Senecan type. There are no stage-directions in the MS., and the text is noticeably sparing of references to place or time, but the writer evidently did not attempt to force the varied episodes of Absalom's career within the narrow compass of the Unities. Most of the scenes are laid in Jerusalem, but others elsewhere, including the four scenes of Act V, which must have taken place at Mahanaim. While thus avoiding artificial compression of plot, the playwright shows considerable power of selecting and arranging material. This is, indeed, his chief gift, which has to be weighed against his frequently diffuse verbiage and his monotonous versification.

The tragedy opens with the situation described in the closing verses of chapter xiv of the Second Book of Samuel. Absalom has returned from Syria, whither he had fled after his murder of Amnon for the outrage upon their sister Tamar. The dramatist in the opening scene expands verse 32 into a long dialogue between the prince and Joab. Absalom is indignant at not being admitted into his father's presence:

> Si placeo cur patris frui aspectu vetor?
> Sin displiceo quid amplius vitam traho?
> Cędis ego facte debitas penas luā.
> Nā servitutē morte mutarem libens.
> Mori iuvabit, servitus pena est mihi.

Joab argues that his condition is far from one of servitude, and protests against his threats of further violence. The dialogue that follows is in characteristically Senecan stichomythia:

Jo. Nū quid grave in patrē statues sanctissimū?
Ab. Malū esse oportet qui reiecit filiū.
Jo. At impiū minime tulisse debuit.
Ab. Raptū sororis cede pius vlciscitur.
Jo. Est regis improbos gravi pena affici.
Ab. Verū sororē fratris est vlciscier.
Jo. Nullus quidem affectus, furor potius fuit.
Ab. Aīo obsequi iuvabat. *Jo.* At rabido tamē.
Ab. Quodcūq; libuit id licebat principi.
Jo. Quodcūq; rectū erat licuit, nō impiū.
Ab. Tulissem invltus tam pudendā iniuriam?
Jo. Tibi grandiorē gratus omisit pater.
Ab. Minime remittit supplici vultū negās.
Jo. Dolor mora lenitus aspectū feret.
Ab. Lentas nimiū supplex moras nūq̄ feret.

At last Joab offers to visit the royal palace, and returns with the news that David wishes to see his son. But the dramatist passes over the interview between them, and also, for the present, the first stages of Absalom's conspiracy described in 2 Samuel xv. 1–11. On the other hand, he elaborates the intrigue between Absalom and Achitophel. The latter appears alone in Scene ii, lamenting the evils of the time:

Sancta pietas exulat.
Hinc orta longa est facinorū series, doli,
Fraudes, nefanda stupra, cędes horridę.

In the next scene he is joined by the prince, who is still violently enraged against his father. The Biblical narrative gives no specific reason for the continuance of Absalom's hostility to David after their meeting. The playwright attributes it to his conviction that the king's reconciliation with him was hypocritical:

Ab. Credat ne quisquā tanta posse tā piū
Lingua facieque patrē simulata figere?
. . . . . .
Vt ficto odiū vultu tegebat pertinax!
Mēs aliud a lingua loquebatur subdola.
Nec vt aliâs index animi sermo fuit.
Vultus quietus at venenū mens tegit.
Suspecta mihi sūt blanda nimiū colloquia.
Oscula meras blāditias mihi reputo.

In a tumultuous outburst the prince vows to take his father's life, and then shrinks back in horror from the thought of such an impious act.

Achitophel, watching his agonized face and gestures, likens him to Pharaoh plunging madly into the Red Sea:

> In ore formas omnis affectus gerit.
> Cogitat, minatur, sistit, ęstuat, dolet.

He bids him restrain his passion, but, infuriated by his counsel, the prince declares magniloquently:

> Bibulis prius numerus arenę nō erit,
> Priusq; rapaces esse desinēt lupi:
> q̄ noster hic cessabit incassū furor.
> Sed crescet vt ignis flatibus adiutus vagis.

After further dialogue he offers Achitophel the leadership in his enterprise, provided he keep silence concerning it. The latter is torn between loyalty to his king and country and ambition. But he persuades himself that David is already doomed, and that he will be able to help Absalom to restore stability to the state:

> Servare regē nemo periturū potest.
> Nec vllus vsq̄ esset miseriarū modus.
> Istoc aliqua regnāte sperāda est quies.
> & vetera patrię iura stabiliet potēs.
> Eandē ego quā cū patre tenebo gloriā.
> & rara quā prestabo in adversis fides
> Mihi ampliores secum amicitias paret.

Act II opens with the arrival of a messenger, who announces to the Chorus that an army of their countrymen is marching against the royal city:

> Nulli regionē hāc Allophyli invadūt truces.
> Natus domi istas excitat tragędias.
> Furibundus Absalon coegit agmina,
> Scribit gladiatorū legiones integras,
> In prelia cunctos vndiq; populos agit.

For this there is a hint in chapter xv. 13, where the messenger says unto David, 'The hearts of the men of Israel are after Absalom.' Then the dramatist goes back to the earlier verses of the chapter, and describes, in words taken mainly from them, the origin of the rising, though he places this after the interview between Absalom and Achitophel, and indeed seems to assign to the latter the part in stirring up the populace which in the Bible belongs to Absalom. He adds, moreover, of his own invention, a vivid description of the rebels pressing their reluctant neighbours into their ranks, as they march onwards in imposing array, and gloating over their anticipated spoils:

Audire diceres sonora tonitrua.
Ipsam tenere se putāt victoriā,
Lętosq; securi triumphos somniāt.
Vt dividūt predas, honores deferūt,
Opes parāt, novā gerūt rēpublicā,
Omnes avaris divitias animis hiant:
Iā diceres rerū potitos omniū.

In Scene ii of this Act, David is introduced, and it is a skilful stroke to place first in his mouth the words of Psalm iii, which, according to the headline in the Psalter, he made 'when he fled from Absalom his son'. The whole Psalm is turned into iambic trimeters, though with a diffuseness which mars the nobility of the original. After reciting the Psalm, David, as in the Biblical narrative, prepares for flight. But at this point the dramatist makes a notable departure from his source. According to 2 Samuel xv. 15, 'the king's servants said unto the king, Behold, thy servants are ready to do whatsoever my lord the king shall appoint'. But in the play Joab argues strenuously against the policy of flight:

Turpem ducis sūmi fugam nō approbo.
Regem fugabit parricida pessimus?
Ego si recuses bella iā contra inferā.
Belli integrū cervici onus incūbet meę.

He reminds David of his past exploits, especially the encounter with Goliath, and declares that God will help him now as then:

Hosti resistamus, tua est victoria.

But the father's heart cannot be moved:

Dav. Quāvis salutem servus expugnet meam,
Nostro est tamē dilectus animo filius.
Jo. Num nomē habebit parricida filij?
Dav. Nefas abhorreo, charus est gnatus tamē.

In exasperation Joab bursts forth:

Es dignus (o rex pace quod dico tua)
In cuius omnes usq; coniurēt caput.
Hac levitate scelera plura provocas.

But David will not despair of his son's reformation:

Potest tamē ad frugem recipere se bonam,
Nā sępe mota nube candida fit dies.

Joab protests that the time for hope is past:

Nulla eius est spes qui ad nefas obduruit.
Est semper advltus morbus incurabilis.

In the thirty-six lines of stichomythia that follow, the arguments for flight and resistance are tossed to and fro till David declares that his present calamities are the punishment foretold by Nathan the prophet for his offence against Uriah. This thought confirms him in his resolve to take flight, and he lifts up a final prayer to God for protection. This prayer is based on phrases in Psalm xxiii, and by an ingenious application of its imagery David is made to ask for Absalom's deliverance from the monster Achitophel:

Hāc ne protervus devoret animā leo,
Sed cornua potēs frange mōstroſę ferę,
Quę fraudibus rapit malignis filiū
In scelera, & in omne praecipitē trudit nefas.
Ô omnibus portentū Achitophel bonis,
Quò turpibus infrenē dolis animum trahis?
Volens ab incepto facinore sisteret,
Ni verba sontem provocassēt impia.

In Scene iii the dramatist passes to the cursing of the king by Semei (Shimei), described in chapter xvi. 5–13. He elaborates with zest the vituperative epithets of the original:

Egredere mōstrum, vir belial, vir sanguinum,
Cruore nunq̄ sordido fuso satur,
Vorax homicida, cęde lętans horrida;

and adds a gruesome prophecy of God's vengeance upon David:

Sic membra frustatim tua divellēs dabit
Rodenda partim canibus, alia edacibus
Dirupta corvis, alia vastabūt maris
Portenta, in auras alia sparget fętidas.
Mōstris cadaver turpe pijciet feris.

After the king has restrained Abishai from attacking his reviler, the cursing is renewed, with variations in the lurid details of David's anticipated fate:

Te tenebrę eūtem semper obducāt nigrę.
Neċ ignis, aqua, aër, tibi det nec tellus iter.
Nec flebili dolore mēs vnq̄ vacet.
Tremēte oberres ore mēdicās cibū.
Quis nō nitētē monstro huic lucē invidet?
Vtinā hoc rapiāt cadaver vltores equi,
Vel fulmē artus dilaniet sęvū tuos,
Vel membra rapidę vrēda tradātur pyrę,
Vel spiritus tenax laqueus claudat viam.

Semei, however, is almost equalled in ferocity of language by Absalom, who at the beginning of Act III enters Jerusalem in triumph. He

boasts that he will fill land and sea with his armed forces, all to hunt out the royal fugitives:

> Nulla vrbs validis prẹcincta passim mẹnibus,
> Nec sylva secretis cavernis obsita,
> Nec astra turres vel penetrantes splendida,
> Nec maria, nec clivosa mōtiū iuga:
> Patrē integrū a mucrone servabunt meo,
> Quin ensis hic invisa rūpet[1] viscera,
> Quin sanguinē crassū peremptus expuet[1].

Achitophel, however, in a speech for which there is no suggestion in the Biblical story, advises Absalom to rest his soldiery and to make himself secure of the people's hearts, instead of pursuing David. He counsels a policy of widespread distribution of rewards. Absalom, who has noticed some hesitation in the execution of his orders, fears that in a crisis he will not be able to count upon the loyalty of the Israelites. Achitophel tells him that they are afraid of a possible reconciliation between him and his father, and of their being made the scapegoats. Absalom at once breaks forth in characteristic fashion. Spring and autumn, winter and summer will meet, the harvest will rise out of the sea, the wolf will be at peace with the flock, before he comes to terms with the king. Achitophel curtly dismisses these melodramatic declarations, 'hẹc cuncta norunt,' and insists that if the prince is to convince his followers that he is at eternal feud with his father, he must commit an even more atrocious outrage than he has yet done. He then bids him, as in 2 Samuel xvi. 21–2, openly dishonour the royal concubines. The dramatist has shown skill and psychological insight in the manner in which he leads up to this climax.

In the following scenes he gives further evidence of his constructive powers. Between David's departure from Jerusalem and his encounter with Shimei the sacred writer narrates the episodes of Ittai the Gittite, Zadok the priest, Hushai the Archite, and Ziba the servant of Mephibosheth. All these the dramatist omits except that of Hushai, whom the king sends back from Mount Olivet to enter Absalom's service as a spy and a counterweight to Achitophel. But in the Scriptural narrative the story of Hushai is broken into detached sections. His proffer of fealty to Absalom is described as taking place between the Shimei incident and Achitophel's counsel concerning the concubines. And it is after this counsel that Hushai and Achitophel dispute before Absalom as to the best method of attacking

[1] *sic* in MS.

the king. This lack of continuous arrangement suits the noble simplicity of the Biblical story, but it is ineffective for dramatic purposes. The playwright therefore masses the scattered episodes together. In Scene ii, Chusai (as the name is spelt in the MS.) tells in a long monologue the tale of David's commission to him, and in the next scene he enters Absalom's presence and disarms his suspicions by his plausible vows:

> Quē elegit vniversus Israel, ego
> Solus relīquā, contumax, vanus, miser?
> Nec in aliam regnū domū traducitur,
> Sed filius idem hęres paternus obtinet.
> . . . . . .
> Mecū vt patri necessitudo arctissima
> Fuit, ita servus filio fidissimus
> Ero, nulla fraus est, simplicitas est cādida.

Immediately afterwards, in the same scene, Absalom raises the question of the future conduct of the campaign. In 2 Samuel xvii, Achitophel's advice that he should be allowed to pursue David while he is weary, and kill him alone, and bring back his followers in peace, is contained in the three opening verses. The dramatist characteristically expands this into a speech of fifty lines, beginning with sententious reflections on the evils of procrastination:

> Languet mora brevi solutus impetus
> Nec pristinas laxus semel vires tenet.
> Illud bene fit, quicquid suo fit tempore.
> Tū longiores quò fugienti das moras,
> Eò in dies hic redditur securior.
> Nā tempus interim putatur remediū.
> Id ergo mature facias si quid facis.

He fills in with descriptive details the picture of the king's forces, worn out and straggling, an easy prey to a sudden attack. Chusai's counsel in opposition, that Absalom should gather together all Israel from Dan even to Beer-sheba, and lead them in person to battle, is similarly expanded from seven verses to eighty-seven lines. An apt example of this elaboration is found in the rendering of the words, 'we will light upon him as the dew falleth on the ground, and of him and of all the men that are with him there shall not be left so much as one'. The dramatist, who delights throughout in conventional imagery from nature, transforms this into—

> Vt pluvius vernis cadēs ros noctibus,
> Distillat herbis incubās florentibus,
> Fallēs rudes oculos micante stellula,
> Pondusqꝫ gramē quodqꝫ sustentat suū:

Numerosa sic coacta nostrorum manus,
Quocūq; diris hostibus insultās loco,
Vt sepe quodam denso eos circumdabit,
& irruēs gladijs vorabit singulos,
Nec fata quidem vel vnus evadet fera.

And then follow more than a dozen lines upon the unwisdom of showing clemency to dangerous enemies. In the Old Testament, Absalom at once pronounces in favour of Chusai's counsel, but in the play the debate is further prolonged, on the ground that 'consilium frequenter excussum valet'. Achitophel again eagerly pleads for a surprise attack upon the king before he crosses Jordan. Chusai retorts by emphasizing the uncertainties of war, to which he applies a homely image:

Demētis est pręferre certis lubrica.
Nō aliter ac si quā manu teneas avem,
Eam remittas spe volantis percitus.

The attack should therefore be made cautiously and in full force.

Absalom decides upon this course, but is still doubtful whether he should lead the army in person. Achitophel vehemently urges him to remain behind in the capital:

Si prosperū sit bellū eris beatior,
Sin funebre, auxilia remittes tutior.
. . . . . .
Aīos magis inflammat futurę spes opis
Quā nuda regis maximi pręsentia.
Iuvabit aspectus sed auxiliū magis.
Quē nō vidēt ōēs, iuvantē sentiēt.

The prince is moved by his impassioned pleading, but Chusai cleverly turns the scale by asking whether Absalom would like any other than himself to have the glory of killing the king:

Devincere est quā audire victū pulchrius.
Quod ipse feceris manu, est preclarius.
Namq; hoc iuvat, recitasse facta propria.

Absalom has at once a rapturous vision of doing the deed in its most barbarous form, and Chusai's cause is won.

The supplement which the dramatist has added to the Scriptural debate in the council of war prolongs the scene unduly, but it reveals a genuine gift for vigorous rhetorical argumentation, which would have been still more effective had it been more tersely phrased. In the opening scene of Act IV he returns to his Biblical source, but he again welds together detached episodes. As already stated, he had passed

over in its original place the incident of the return of Zadok and Abiathar, with their sons, to Jerusalem to act as intelligencers for the king. But he now introduces them at the point where they directly influence the action of the story. After they have lifted up prayers for David's safety, and Zadok has related how he sent them back to the capital, they are joined by Chusai, who tells them the result of the council of war, and bids them send news thereof to the king by means of their sons.

This short scene is followed by one of the playwright's own invention, which consists of a monologue by Absalom. He is chafing impatiently at the delay in the marshalling of his forces:

> Quā multa scriptores terūt iā secula
> Dū debitum mihi cōtrahant exercitū!
> Labore cessāt facti opinor desides,
> Vel iussibus somno neglectis languido
> Sese dederūt, segnibus occidūt moris.

But he consoles himself with the certain prospect of victory, and with the anticipation of inflicting on his father death by violence, or torture worse than death. The repetition of this unnatural theme, in even more repulsive detail than before, could well have been spared, and adds no new touch to Absalom's character.

Another and longer scene in monologue closes the Act. The single verse which tells how Achitophel, when he saw that his counsel was not followed, went home to his house and hanged himself, is made the basis of a speech of 120 lines. The rejected confidant bewails the result of his short-sighted treachery to his king:

> Quę proditionis impię merces datur?
> Vilis lateo cōtemptus, abiectus, miser.
> Improvidus, vanus, fatuus, demens, putor.
> Merito quidē, qui nō ea pręvisi fore.

It is on himself, not the prince, that he lays the chief blame for the conspiracy:

> Hec lingua filiū furentem propulit
> In fata patris, hijs nefanda faucibus
> Fluxere verba, hoc scelera concepit caput.
> Istę nocētia arma sumpserūt manus.
> Etsi patria alterius truci iaceat manu,
> At mente nostra, cur necis vivo reus?

He feels sure that the expedition will now end in disaster, and that dread vengeance will overtake the rebels. For himself there are things that he fears worse than death:

Non mortis atrę, sed sceleris reum pudet.
Qua fronte David intuebor p̄fidus?
Aspectus ille morte quavis durior.
Nūq̄ reditū expectabo regis proditor.

The only course left to him is to take his own life—and in the manner that will most fully satisfy retributive justice:

Crudele vox hec sola facinus edidit.
Ergo nocentis vinculo vocis viam
Obstringere est ęquū. scelus cōcepit hęc,
Periat eadem. solū placeat suspendiū.

This is a noticeably ingenious way of accounting for Achitophel's choice of hanging as his mode of death. Indeed the whole speech, though too long drawn out, is a favourable example of the writer's powers of working back from a given course of action to the train of motives that inspire it.

The opening scene of the last Act shows David awaiting, with a spectator, the issue of the battle. He is sure that God will protect him, as he has ever done, but his heart bleeds with anxiety for his son:

Est ille solamē meo
Solus animo, mihi crescit in adversis amor.
Quod illi acerbè fit, idē acerbū erit mihi.

The dramatist seeks to magnify the tenderness of the father, as he has heightened the ferocity of the son. Absalom alone is in David's thoughts, and for him he lifts up repeated prayers to God:

In numē ambo tuū miseri peccavimus,
Vnū vel exitiū, vel vna vita sit.
Ęque ac meā illius salutem postulo.

In Scene ii, when Achimaas brings news of victory, but pretends ignorance of Absalom's fate, the king again utters his paternal anxieties in words for which the Biblical account gives no hint:

Victoria mira est victi vbi quęritur salus.
Vt propriam sic illius desidero.
. . . . . .
Quid tā paternū est q̄ studere liberis?
Quis proteget, si ego sator expugno ferus?
Vitā semel dedi, necem rursum inferā?

It is the more remarkable, therefore, that the dramatist in Scene iii makes Chusi, the second messenger, keep the king in suspense about his son's end, while for nearly a hundred lines he discourses upon the battle. The description, which is purely imaginary, as the Bible gives no details, contains a number of vivid touches. The royal

army was arranged, after 'the discipline of the wars of the Romans', with the light-armed *rorarii* in the van, and the heavy-armed *tumultuarii* to support them in the rear. Absalom's host, though far more numerous, was heterogeneous and ill-armed:

> Huic galea capiti cava tuendo defuit,
> Hic pectus armat strēnuū, & multiplici
> Defenditur thorace, nudus cętera.
> Illū facit balista securū ęrea.
> Hic fidit arcui, ille fūdę nititur.

Others carried swords, spears, axes, or daggers respectively, but none were fully equipped:

> Nemo fuit arma qui gerebat integra:
> Qui scutū habuit, telo carebat missili.

This emphasis on details reappears, in a form characteristic (as has been shown above) of the writer, in the gruesome description of the death-agonies of the stricken host on the battle-field:

> Passim iacebāt amputata brachia,
> Hic capita linguis palpitāt tremētibus,
> Illic cadens iaculū momordit asperū,
> Tepido solo stagnabat obscęnus cruor.

And it is continued in the enumeration of the other various forms of death which befell those who took refuge in the neighbouring wood. If the situation were less tragic, and if the dramatist had previously shown any humorous faculty, one would almost think that he was introducing 'relief' in the form of a messenger who magnifies his office by tedious circumlocution before delivering his main news. And indeed David nearly anticipates the Shakespearian 'more matter with less art' when he at last breaks in with the cry:

> De filio iam potius audirem meo,
> Hęc antea mens cogitabat omnia,
> Hęc mitte, narra quod rogo paucissimis.

Thus adjured, the Nuntius at last tells how Absalom died, though even at this point he cannot refrain from an elaborate pictorial description of the fatal oak. In David's outburst of grief there is a closer approach to the grand simplicity of the original than is usual in the play, in spite of one or two conventional touches, such as—

> Gnatos parētes prędredi boni solent.

The final scene, in which Joab reproaches the king for his excessive and impolitic lamentation, is also modelled closely on Scriptural lines. But the dramatist adds a fine imaginative stroke when he makes the

Israelite captain urge that David should cease to mourn for one whom Nature herself has punished and cast out:

> Arbor parētem est vlta nō exercitus,
> Haec sola vindicat paternā iniuriam.
> Nō milites, sed ligna rami denegāt
> Illi salutem. Cur eū luges pater,
> Quē nec fretū, nec terra, nec aura mobilis
> Vivū nec extinctū libenter sustinēt?

The conception is, of course, not Hebrew but pagan, and is the main instance in the play of the author's classical studies influencing not merely his technique and imagery but his thought.

It will be evident from this examination of *Absalon* that it is a work of considerable originality, and that it presents instructive points of comparison with George Peele's English play on the same subject. Though Peele had close associations with the University stage, there is not the slightest internal evidence that *The Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe: With the Tragedie of Absalon* (printed, after his death, in 1599) was influenced by any academic Latin model. Both in structure and spirit it is essentially romantic. It includes in its sweep, as the title indicates, the whole series of events that follow upon the king's intrigue with Uriah's wife. The play thus gains, as compared with the Latin tragedy, in moral import, for the rebellion and the death of Absalom have their deepest significance as incidents in the divine chastisement of David for his sin. The advantage is, however, won at the expense of structural unity.[1] The English play is a Scriptural chronicle-history, made up of loosely-hung scenes, though, like the academic author, Peele selects and rearranges his materials. The earlier scenes deal with the events that precede Absalom's return from banishment, and have therefore no counterpart in the Latin drama. But it may be noted that in Bethsabe and Thamar they introduce the feminine interest which is entirely absent in *Absalon*, and that from Bethsabe's opening speech the play is steeped in an atmosphere of luxuriant sensuous imagery, after the manner of Marlowe. Probably Peele intended by means of this to give Oriental colouring to his work, and his descriptions have, at their best, a caressing charm, which is, however, as foreign to the austere simplicity of the Biblical narrative as the lurid rhetoric of the Senecan imitator. It is this sensuous imagery that gives the distinctive note to the portraiture of Absalom in the English play.

[1] Though it has to be remembered that Peele's play has come to us in mutilated form.

Thus when Joab is pleading for the recall of the banished prince—at the point of the action where the Latin tragedy begins—he adds concrete details to the Scriptural account of his beauty (ix. 979–82):[1]

A beautifull and faire young man is he,
In all his bodie is no blemish seene,
His haire is like the wyer of Dauids Harpe
That twines about his bright and yuorie necke:

But this picture is far outdone by the voluptuous fancifulness of the king's rapture over (xii. 1465–9):

that fair haire with which the wanton winds
Delight to play, and loues to make it curle,
Wherein the Nightingales would build their nests,
And make sweet bowers in euery golden tresse,
To sing their louer euery night asleepe.

Absalom himself is constantly dilating upon his own beauty, and even his ambition springs not so much from lust for power, or eagerness to displace his father, as from the belief that God delights in his beauty, and has ordained that it should blaze forth in triumph over the land. He speaks of himself magniloquently as (xi. 1218 ff.):

Absolon, that in his face
Carries the finall purpose of his God,
That is, to worke him grace in Israel.

. . . . . .

His thunder is intangled in my haire,
And with my beautie is his lightning quencht,
I am the man he made to glorie in.

So, too, when he is entangled in the oak he cries (xv. 1543 ff.):

O God behold the glorie of thy hand,
And choisest fruit of Natures workemanship,
Hang like a rotten branch vpon this tree,
Fit for the axe, and ready for the fire.

. . . . . .

O let my beautie fill these sencelesse plants
With sence and power to lose me from this plague,
And worke some wonder to preuent his death,
Whose life thou madst a speciale miracle.

And Joab, before he stabs him, mocks him with his vain confidence in a divine benediction on his personal charms (xv. 1586–8):

Now Absalon how doth the Lord regard
The beautie wherevpon thy hope was built,
And which thou thoughtst his grace did glorie in?

It is in yet bitterer mockery of ruined ambitions based on a belief in beauty's all-conquering power that Joab has the prince buried in

[1] The numbering is that of the Malone Society reprint.

a 'myerie ditch' amidst the gloom of 'the shadie thicket of dark Ephrami', where night-ravens and owls will (xv. 1641–3)

> heape their preyes of Carrion,
> Till all his graue be clad with stinking bones,
> That it may loth the sence of euery man.

Thus Absalom, as presented by Peele, is a characteristic Renaissance figure, strangely alien from the passionate, bloodthirsty protagonist of the Latin play, who is modelled on the lines of the typical Senecan tyrant. The contrast between them is an instructive example of the varied results obtained by two dramatists of different temper, and working under different influences, from identical materials.

In the case of Achitophel, who is drawn so elaborately in the academic tragedy, comparison is scarcely possible, for in Peele's work he fills a minor part, and his only long speech, made before he takes his life, is a medley of conceits unsuitable to the lips of a calculating politician. On the other hand, the English dramatist, in the closing scenes, complicates the threads of the plot by introducing the palace-intrigue about the succession to the throne. This is taken from the first chapter of the First Book of Kings, and belongs historically to a later period, when Adonijah, following the precedent of his elder brother Absalom, sought to usurp the throne, and Bath-sheba and Nathan secured the proclamation of Solomon as David's heir. But Peele makes Solomon the rival candidate to Absalom himself, and shows us the king appointing him to the succession before the fate of the rebel prince is known. The glimpse thus given into the future glory of the son of David and 'Bethsabe', who already shows a spirit of wisdom beyond his years, suggests that the king's sin is nearly expiated, and that there is promise of peace for divided Israel. But the sudden introduction of Solomon mars the emotional effect of Absalom's tragic fate, and diverts the interest at a culminating point. And still more incongruous with the general scheme and spirit of the play is David's amazing final rhapsody upon Absalom's joy in the beatific vision of the Triune Deity.

On the whole, the Latin play profits by comparison with the English. Peele had far more sense of beauty and a finer ear for rhythm than the academic dramatist, and he was free from his cardinal sin of diffuseness. But in dexterous arrangement of material, in concentration of interest, and, above all, in psychological insight, *Absalon* is the work of an abler and more original playwright than Peele.

APPENDIX II

RALPH WORSLEY'S *Synedrium Animalium.*

MENTION has been briefly made in Chapter IV, p. 70 of the remarkable memorial of Tudor Latin drama preserved in manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge. It consists of two closely related plays, one in prose, the other in verse. The latter, which is much the more elaborate, and which is complete, has the title:

Synedrij
Id Est Consessus Animalium
Inscripta Tra
goedia Per Radvlphvm
Worselaevm Anno Dni
1553
Mense Nouembris 14 Die

At the end of the MS. is written:

Finis
27 Die Februarij 1554
Per me Radvlphvm
Worselaevm

The verse play was thus presumably begun on November 14, 1553, and finished on February 27, 1554/5.

The prose play has a somewhat fuller title:

Synedrium. Id Est Concessus
Animalium Videlicet Collectio
Morae Comoediae Avt Pocivs
Tragoediae Descriptvm.

There were two Ralph Worsleys,[1] members of a distinguished Cheshire family, who attained some prominence in the sixteenth century. The elder of them was born about 1490, for in the elaborate epitaph to him in St. Mary's Church, Chester, it is stated that he died in December 1573,[2] aged eighty years and upwards. He was Page of the Wardrobe and Steward of the Chamber to Henry VIII, and as a reward for his faithful service was afterwards granted for life the offices of Sergeant of the Crown, Keeper of the

[1] This is the usual spelling of the name, and is that under which Ralph Worsley is entered at Gray's Inn.

[2] The date is wrong, as he died in December 1572.

lions, lionesses, and leopards in the Tower of London, Porter of the Great Wardrobe, and various dignities in the counties of Chester, Flint, and Lancashire. Though as Porter of the Wardrobe, a post to which he succeeded on Richard Gibson's death, in 1534, he was closely associated with the Court Revels, it is highly improbable that when over sixty years of age he should have written two long Latin plays.

He had, however, a nephew of the same name, second son of a younger brother, Otwell. This Ralph Worsley was entered at Gray's Inn in 1559, followed the profession of the law, and married a daughter of Thomas Aldersey, a merchant of Chester. He was arrested for recusancy, for in a letter to Walsingham of May 13, 1582, it is stated that the prisoners in Salford gaol have refused to hear the chapter appointed to be read at meal times, but that now one of them, Ralph Worsley, has undertaken to do so. As he died in Chester Castle in 1590, he apparently had a long period of imprisonment.

This Ralph Worsley was presumably the author of *Synedrium Animalium* in its prose and verse forms, and as they were written some five years before he entered Gray's Inn, they may have been University productions. They certainly are the work of a man of considerable academic culture, though no evidence is apparently forthcoming of Ralph Worsley having been at Oxford or Cambridge.[1]

Both plays are dramatic paraphrases, in part verbal translations, of William Caxton's *Historye of Reynart the foxe*, published in 1581.

The prose play seems to be the earlier of the two, and to have served as a preparatory draft for the much fuller poetical version. In passages where Worsley expands his original, the additions are, as a rule, slighter in the prose paraphrase. It has no formal divisions into Acts and Scenes; the breaks are merely indicated by the names of the dramatis personae at the head of the dialogue. These names differ in many cases both from those used by Caxton and from those adopted by Worsley in his verse paraphrase. Thus the lion is Orbilio, the lioness Eulipatra, and the wolf Liodelphus. Even names incidentally mentioned are at times different in the two versions.

Neither in the prose nor in the verse rendering does Worsley indicate his source, though he writes an interesting prologue to the latter, in which he begins by explaining why he has turned into Latin a story already familiar in the vernacular:

[1] A Francis Worslay matriculated as a fellow-commoner at Jesus College, Cambridge, in Easter Term, 1551 (J. & J. A. Venn, *University of Cambridge: Matriculations and Degrees*, 1544 to 1659, p. 750).

Synedrium, hoc est consessus animalium
Huic fabulae est nomen, quam ne miremini
Cur iam Latinam inscripsimus, quando quidem
Primúm Anglicé scripta fuit; nam ipsi vidimus
Illius argumentum, et materiam vtilem
Lectuq; iucundam fuisse et id parum
Operae ac laboris in ea scribenda insumpsimus.

While he does not defend the English language from the strictures passed on it by his contemporaries, he maintains that many writers of repute have used it as the vehicle of their thoughts:

Atqui Angliae genti sunt qui vitio ac probro
Linguae suae sterilitatem dant maximo,
Dicuntq; praeclarum ex hac gente quippiam
Venisse nunquam: vt sit sterilis lingua Anglica,
Multi tamen non exiguae huic scienciae
Et litteraturae autores poëmata
Praeclara multa panxerunt et Anglica
Scripsere porro lingua vtcunq; barbara.
Et facite ita esse omnino deterius nihil
His quae Anglica lingua sunt tradita; attamen
Si iam ipsa materia figurata vtilis
Et docta sit cur reijceretur fabula?

He wishes that all worthy tales told in English could be translated into Latin and thus given a wider circulation:

Vtinam hercle vt historiae omnes quae lingua Anglica
Scriptae fuere ab ingenuis authoribus
Quae non ineptae sunt nec inutiles quidem
Eciam in Latinum versae alijs sint traditae.

He is convinced that in so treating an animal story he is not wasting his time, for under its ridiculous exterior there lie hid deep lessons:

Nec nos velimus, vt sunt quidam, credere
Nos in re inepta, nugace atq; inutili
Videlicet modó de consessu animalium
Conterere tempus ac frustra operam impendere.
Quamvis enim hic merae inducuntur ineptiae
Et fabula haec de animalibus confingitur;
Tamen erudita, ac docta multa intus latent.

He cites, in justification of his labours, the examples of other animal fabulists. But whilst he names Aesop, and his Latin translator, he makes only the vaguest allusion to the mediaeval writers of verse and prose who had built up the 'beast-epic' of Reynard. Gerard Leuu's

'Dutche' version of the story, which Caxton adapted into English, was probably unknown to him:

> Nec nos quidem soli, qui istuc studij genus
> Tractare coeperunt, primi omnium sumus
> Cum scilicet non deerunt, inter omnium
> Linguarum candidatos, nec desunt adhuc
> Quos hoc idem facere omninó nihil poenitet.
> Id inter ceteros Aesopus indicat
> Qui fabulas scribens Graece, eciam posteris
> Suis reliquit, quae aetatum omnium omnibus
> Semper quidem factae fuere maximi.
> Has Romulum, cum alijs historijs plurimis
> Non piguit é Graecis Latinas reddere.
> Haec dum ita se habent, cur nobis inter caeteros
> Istuc idem facere similiter non licet?

As to the objection that he is rehandling the work of others, he admits that the material is old, but raw and unpolished:

> At quispiam obijciet, quid iste fabulas
> Aliorum studio elucubratas, pro suis
> Tám sedulo aedet? Argumentum ipsum quidem
> Fateor fuisse inita ante nostra tempora,
> Diuqꝫ versatum, verum crassum ac rude.

It is as valuable a service to improve a work of unsatisfactory style as to write one that is new and original:

> Túm eciam fuerunt ante nos complurimi
> Qui huiusmodi studijs stylum acuerunt suum.
> Nec enim minoris est operae libros stylo
> Inculto conscriptos meliores reddere:
> Quam vel noua argumenta, librosqꝫ scribere.
> Quapropter omnes vos aequo animo tradita
> Haec cum silencio quaeso animadvertite
> Vt iam sciatis quid fabula sibi velit.

This closing request for silence seems to indicate that Worsley intended the play to be acted, not merely to be read, and the customary 'valete, et plaudite', at the end of Act V, points in the same direction.[1] Yet it is difficult to think of a drama, more than 5,000 lines in length, and containing an unbroken speech of 405 lines by the fox in Act IV. ii, being produced on any stage. Moreover, the costumes of the animals, which in our own day have made the presentation of Rostand's *Chanticleer* a spectacular *tour de force*, would have severely taxed the resources of the Tudor amateur stage.

[1] In the *Peroratio* Worsley uses the words 'hunc librum quicunqꝫ perlegit', but he is here translating Caxton's 'by this booke . . . who that wyl rede this mater'.

But whether Worsley intended *Synedrium Animalium* to be acted or not, it is curious that in his elaborate prologue he never gives his reasons for *dramatizing* the story of Reynart. Though the fable had gone through varied transformation, in different languages, in verse and in prose, it had not hitherto appeared in the form of a play. And the invertebrate structure of the romance, as told by Caxton, with its multiplicity of episodes, its long 'relations' of past events, its incidental stories, and its lack of any main pivot upon which the action turns, would scarcely seem to offer attractive material to a playwright. On the other hand, many of the episodes, taken singly, are in the true vein of comedy, or involve reversals of fortune in the Aristotelian sense. Much of the dialogue is virtually in dramatic form, and the character of the protagonist, Reynart, an animal embodiment of many of the qualities of the Vice in the later Moralities, though in subtler and grimmer shape, gives a unity of spirit to episodes otherwise loosely hung together.

Considering the immense difficulties of his task, the adaptation of a mediaeval romance to the mould of Roman comedy, Worsley must be said to have acquitted himself with credit. His play is divided into five Acts, containing altogether forty-one scenes. Act I, in nine scenes, includes the summoning of the animals to his court by the lion; the complaints against the fox, and the adventures of the bear when he is sent to 'Maleperduys' to bid Reynart attend his trial before the King. Act II, also in nine scenes, covers the embassies of the cat and 'dasse', or beaver, to Reynart; his confession of his sins to the beaver, who is his nephew; his sentence to death by the King; and his deliverance from the gallows, at the Queen's intercession, owing to his feigned tale of his knowledge of hidden treasure. Act III, which is in eight scenes, and which is much shorter than the others, deals with the arrest of Reynart's enemies, the bear and the wolf; his pretence to start on a pilgrimage to Rome, accompanied by the hare and the ram; his slaying and eating of the hare; the trick by which the ram is led to return to court with the hare's head in a scrip; and the King's discovery of the fox's fresh deceit, and the consequent restoration of the bear and the wolf to liberty and the royal favour. This is the main break in the story, which had indeed ended here in the Flemish thirteenth-century metrical version by Willem, and had been continued by an inferior poet. But Worsley, doubtless ignorant of this, makes the turning point of his play the close of Act IV, for in his prefatory 'Elenchus sive Tabula' he writes after the last scene of Act IV, 'Epitasis Finis'.

This Act, in eight scenes, is the longest of the five. It includes the complaints of the 'cony' and the 'rook' against Reynart; his return to court with the beaver, and his second confession and absolution on his way thither; his apologia before the King, with his elaborate account of the imaginary jewels that he had entrusted to the ram to bring to Stade; and his acquittal on the charge of causing the hare's death. Act V, in seven scenes, deals with the wolf's renewed charges against the fox; the duel between them, in which the fox, tutored by his aunt, the she-ape, though at first worsted gains the victory by stratagem; and the final restoration of Reynart to high dignity and office.

The play thus follows closely the main lines of Caxton's version, but there are a number of interesting variations which show Worsley's skill as an adapter, or illustrate some peculiarities of his method or point of view.

To begin with, in a fantastic display of inaccurate learning, he abandons, except in the case of the fox and the bear, the names used by Caxton, and substitutes others derived from the Greek, which he sets out in the following table at the head of the play:

Noble[1]	Eulebius	Leo REX	εὐλεβης pius
[Unnamed]	Erindra SENATUS	Lea REGINA	εἰρηνη pax et δράω facio
Isegrym	Pamphagus	Lupus	παν · omne et φάγω · comedo
Courtoys	Colacus	Canis	κολακεύω · assentor, vel. adulor
Grymbert	Melphilus	Castor	μέλι mel et φιλεω · amo
Tybert	Muripus	Felis	μῦς mus. et ἁρπάζω · rapio
Panther	Brychicus	Aper	βρύχω · frendo
Chantecler	Cantherus	Gallus	καθαγιζομαι · iusta soluo, vel. κανοχιζω · Ploro
Bruyn	Bruinus	Vrsus	βρωσκω · voro
Reynart	Roenaridus	Vulpes	ροω
Ermelyn	Argola	Vulpecula	ἀργὸς · celer
[Unnamed]	Martinus	Sacerdos	μάρπτω · capio · quod Muripum cepit in laqueo
Fyrapeel	Doraclus	Pardus	δορα · pellis et κελις · macula quasi maculosus
Lampreel	Coelogus	Cuniculus	κοιλω · cauo et γῆ · terra
Bellyn	Ceraspus	Aries	κερας · cornu et παιῶ · ferio
Kyrvaert	Loelapus	Lepus	λαιλαψ · turbo venti, quasi turbine leuior
Bokart	Boccharus Regis	Notarius	βοω · clamo · et χαράπτω · signo, imprimo
Corbant	Melampus	Corvus	μελας · niger. et ποῦς · pes
Erswynd	[Unnamed]	Lupa	
Rukenawe	Pitthaca	Simia	πιθῆκος
[Unnamed]	Enydrida	Lutra	ἐνυδριδης Lutrae ἐνυδρος aqua et terra viuens

[1] I have added in the first column the corresponding names in Caxton's *Historye*. The references are to Arber's reprint.

He even adds the names, also derived from the Greek, of four animals merely mentioned in the speeches of other characters. This thorough-going change of nomenclature is somewhat curious, for Worsley cannot otherwise be charged with capricious or pedantic alterations of his original. He may have wished to mask his direct source; or he may have thought that these bastard Greek forms would help to create the illusion of a classical atmosphere.

The latter is more probable, for when we turn to the body of the play we find that a large number of variations from Caxton's text are evidently prompted by this motive. *The Historye of Reynart*, a characteristically mediaeval product, is full of allusions, especially ecclesiastical and theological, entirely foreign to Roman comedy. One of Worsley's most difficult problems was how to deal with these. Sometimes he takes the simplest method, that of omission. Thus in Act IV. vii. f. 86, when Reynart is relating to the King a fictitious interview with his 'eme' the ape, he speaks of him as 'wyser in clergie than somme prest. He hath ben advocate for the bysshop of cameryk ix yere' (p. 68). These words are omitted by Worsley, who also leaves out, a little lower in the same speech, the fox's declaration: 'I fasted by cause of this feste of whitsontyd which approuched. For who that wylle taste of the overest wysehede and lyve goostly in kepyng the commandements of our lord he muste faste and make hym redy ayenst the hye festes.' Similar instances might be multiplied, especially in the later Acts.

But more frequently the playwright transforms Christian personages, festivals, ceremonies, and offices into Pagan equivalents. Thus, in the opening lines of the 'Argumentum' prefixed to the comedy, Caxton's introductory words, 'It was aboute the tyme of penthecoste or whytsontyde,' are rendered:

> Ad finem Aprilis quo tempore summo Jovi
> Et Veneri Ericinae cōcelebrant viualia.

An oath 'on the holy sayntes' becomes one 'omnes per deos divosq̄'; another, 'by the holy thre Kynges of Coleyne,' is similarly turned to 'per deos'; the devil figures as 'genius malus'. When the fox feigns to have been in his 'even song', the Latin rendering is 'diuinis rebus atq̄ orationibus'; when he mockingly tells the bear 'I trowe veryly that ye wyl go synge complyn', Worsley substitutes:

> Te plane ego ad cantandum hymnos Ioui paratum esse
> Arbitror.

The holy land is transformed into 'fortunatae insulae', and to 'lede yow to flomme jordyn' becomes 'te adducere Indiam'.

But Worsley is not entirely consistent in his treatment of such ecclesiastical or Biblical references. Take, for instance, the passage in which Reynart speaks of his resolve to purge the sin for which he has been excommunicated (p. 43).

'Wherfore I stonde a cursed and am in the popes banne and sentence I wil to morow bytymes as the sonne riseth take my waye to rome for to be assoyled and take pardon and fro rome I will over the see in to the holy lande.'

This is rendered (Act II. ix, f. 55):

> Quod illico versum in maledictum erat mihi,
> Nomenqꝫ Romanorum monumentis meum
> Inscribitur, manetqꝫ inexpunctum hactenus.
> Eoqꝫ crastino si voluerit deus
> Iam a solis ortu Romam iter ipse fecero.
> Speroqꝫ ibi nouam impetrare indulgenciam,
> Indeqꝫ revertens fortunatas insulas
> Et Compostellam quoqꝫ confido invisere.

Here the ill-advised introduction of the famous shrine of St. James of Compostella destroys all sense of classical illusion.

A little later (Act III. ii, f. 58) the King bids the ram 'do masse' before the fox ere he starts on his pilgrimage. The ram is afraid to obey because Reynart is 'in the popes curse', and tremblingly stipulates (p. 46):

'I wil not doo litel ne moche herin but yf ye save me harmles in the spirituel court byfore the bysshop prendelor and to fore his archedeken loosuynde and to for sir rapiamus his offycyal.'

The words quoted are thus expanded by Worsley:

> Verum interim Eulebi rex te et me omnes summi subijci
> Pontificis imperio scis, illumque sacra iura condere
> Quae iam irritare, vel rescendere omninò hercle esset nefas.
> Deinde scis, quicumqꝫ decretis eius resisterit,
> Negatve seruare, is maledicti eius subit periculum.
> Quare nisi me vis in Curia sacra defendere
> A praesulis summi imperio, magnicꝫ Cancellarij,
> Equidem nihil rem istam promoueam.

While the ecclesiastical dignitaries, with their tell-tale names, are more or less classically metamorphosed, the doctrine of passive obedience to papal decrees is stated much more fully and explicitly than in the original. No inference as to the dramatist's religious leanings is, however, to be drawn from this, for he afterwards elaborates a famous passage in Caxton's *Historye*, painting the corruption of the Papal court (p. 71).

'For the pope is so sore old that he is but lytil sette by And the cardynal of pure gold hath alle the myghte of the court he is yonge and grete of frendis he hath a concubyne whom he moche loveth And what she desyreth that geteth she anone.'

This is rendered in the comedy (Act IV. vii, f. 89):

Summus namq; pontifex
Adeo senectute delirat, tamq; impotens est corpore
Vti profecto illum nemo illic vel teruncij facit.
Cuius loco Cardinalis Romae, vt libet, prae[es]t[1] modó
Et praefuit iamdudum, qui adolescens est formosissimus.
Huic concubina est lepida, gracilis, atq; elegantula
Quam charam habet sibi multumq; amatam, neq; id iniuria:
Profecto vel nutu comparat ab illo quae vult omnia:
Pecuniam, et gemmas tam in procliui, quám rogitat, obtinet.

It will be noted that not only does Worsley here vivify the description by the addition of realistic details, but that he frankly abandons any attempt to substitute the colouring of Pagan for that of Papal Rome.

Similarly, with political and social features characteristic of the Middle Ages, Worsley aims in the main at transforming them into classical guise, but his practice is not uniform. The members of the king's 'court' are converted into a 'senatus', for whose relations, however, to their 'rex' and 'regina' the constitution of ancient Rome certainly affords no parallel. On one occasion the King speaks of his 'beste þarons' in semi-Oriental style, as 'satrapis meis optimis'. There are confused reminiscences of Roman administrative arrangements in the Latin version of the dignities with which the King endows Reynart at the close (p. 116): 'And in alle my lande shall ye be above alle other soverayne and my bayle. That Offyce I gyve yow, ye may wel occupye it wyth worship.'

Hinc te constituimus quatuor provincijs
P̄fectum et magistrum, et quęstorem aerarium,
Edictumq; nullum posthac emisero
Non lucubratum consilio ac studio tuo.

In one or two cases the names of classical heroes are introduced merely with the object of adding antique colour. Thus when Caxton speaks of the fox going forth proudly 'as he had ben the kynges sone', Worsley has 'sicut Regulus'. In a later scene the words 'hier is none so old' are expanded into:

Tot annos hic habentem neminem
Quot Nestor ille habebat.

[1] 'praesit' in the MS.

The changes hitherto discussed affect the atmosphere and spirit of the play. From them we may pass to others, of a more fundamental character, that are concerned with its structure and action. In the main, as has been already stated, Worsley follows the lines of his source with remarkable fidelity. The forty-one scenes of his comedy correspond approximately with the forty-three chapters of Caxton's *Historye*. But the divisions are not always at the same points in the two works. A number of Worsley's scenes include more than one of Caxton's chapters, while some of the chapters furnish material for more than a single scene. In many cases, as was inevitable in putting a romance into dramatic form, short descriptive or narrative passages are either omitted or are transported, sometimes with obviously *naïf* technique, into the dialogue. Thus in Act I. vi, where the bear visits the fox's castle of Maleperduys, the opening dozen lines of Caxton's chapter vii, describing Bruin's journey to the gate of the castle, are left out by Worsley, but the account of the castle that almost immediately follows is put into the mouth of Roenaridus. In a later scene in Act II, where the fox is led forth to the gallows by the wolf and the bear, portions of Caxton's chapter xv are omitted, and part, originally narrative in form, is transposed into a speech. Among episodes which Worsley entirely leaves out are the fox's attack on a 'fatte yong capone' immediately after his first shriving (pp. 28–9); the festivities which follow the King's reconciliation with the bear and the wolf (p. 54); the joint adventure of the cat and the fox's father (pp. 87–8); the treatment of the hungry King and Queen by the fox and the wolf when they had killed a 'swyne' and a calf (pp. 91–2); the tale of the hound that stole a rib of beef and was scalded for his theft by the cook, with the fox's moralizing comments on the incident (pp. 113–15). By these and other incidental omissions Worsley considerably condenses his material, especially in the last two Acts, though it is somewhat surprising that he incorporates in full (Act IV. vii) Reynart's elaborate description of the fictitious missing jewels, and the stories engraved on them.

But Worsley does not confine himself to omissions or to the transformation of narrative into dialogue. He transposes and rearranges episodes, and at times transfers speeches to other characters than those to whom Caxton assigns them. Thus, as early as Act I. ii, after the complaints against Reynart of the wolf and the hound, the dramatist omits for the moment the dialogue between the cat and the boar, and proceeds at once to the vigorous defence of Reynart by his nephew, the 'dasse'. The action is thereby simplified and quickened, and the omitted episode is picked up in Scene iii.

But the dramatization of Caxton's chapter ix—the disastrous attempt of the bear to steal the carpenter's honey—puts a severe tax on Worsley's technique. The story is broken up into three scenes: vii, between Roenaridus and Bruinus; viii, in which Roenaridus soliloquizes; and ix, in which he recounts the adventure to his wife, Argola. The language is spirited and vivid, but Scene ix covers part of the same ground as its predecessors and involves some needless repetition. The corresponding misadventure of the cat in the priest's 'gryn' is treated more simply in Act II. iv, where it is recounted by the victim, Muripus himself, partly in soliloquy but mainly to the King and the Senatus. In Act IV there are numerous changes. Caxton's chapters xxix to xxxi, including the defence of the fox by his aunt the she-ape, are omitted and transferred to Act V. ii, to bring them into closer connexion with the story about Reynart's encounter with her in her 'hool' (Caxton's chapter xxxiv), which is contained in Act V. iii. Yet the greater concentration of interest thus gained is partly disturbed by the inclusion, at the end of Act V. ii, of the fox's account (pp. 89–90) of how his father cured the King's father of illness by means of a wolf's liver. Greater prominence is given than in the *Historye* to the pard as a friend of the fox. It is he (Doraclus), and not the she-ape (Pitthaca), who bids Reynart tell the tale of the lost jewels (Act IV. vii, f. 91), and he is also introduced in the short scene that closes the Act, as an advocate on the hero's behalf. On the other hand, the enmity of the wolf to Reynart is emphasized. It is Pamphagus, instead of the King, who in Act V. ii, f. 105, answers Pitthaca's first plea for the fox by a recital of his evil deeds, and it is he, not his wife, who opens the next scene which tells of Reynart's treachery in the adventure with the she-ape. In Act V. v, Caxton's long account of the duel between the fox and the wolf is much condensed, but after the former's victory eighteen lines are introduced by Worsley at the beginning of Scene vii, which in the form of congratulations to Reynart, by the King and the she-ape, set the hero's triumph in strong relief. At the close of this scene, the last in the play, the dramatist omits the cynical moralizing in the original on those who 'wexe and become myghty' by using 'reynardis crafte', and also the episode of the fox's return to Maleperduys accompanied by his 'frendes and lignage'. He brings the comedy to a more compact and effective close with Reynart's farewell to the Court, amidst universal regrets at his departure.

Roe. Vale itaq; rex, valete patres optimi.
Vos autem Melphile et Pitthaca et Enydrida

Valete quám optime, cum amicis cęteris
Vt si nominarem nominibus singulos.
Pit. Et tu quoqꝫ Roenaride, et me vxori tuæ
Tuisqꝫ liberis omnibus te obsecro
Cõmendatam habe. *Roe.* faciam vt iubes Pitthaca.
Mel. Ego te domum vsqꝫ comitabor Roenaride.
Roe. Vin' tu? *Mel.* scilicet. *Roe.* Magnas vero gracias
Nunc agere debeo tibi Melphile. *Pit.* hei mihi
Quam molesta decessio ista est! *Eny.* est quidem.
Eul. Nunc itaqꝫ quid praetermissum est tandem? *Dor.* Nihil.
Eul. Ite igitur domum omnes, valete et plaudite.

The net result of Worsley's omissions and his rearrangement of parts of his material is a play which, though not conforming to any orthodox type, is more coherent and workmanlike than might have been anticipated from the inherent difficulties of the undertaking. Nevertheless, *Synedrium Animalium* is as long as Caxton's *Historye*. For Worsley, even when he is closely following his English text, has the Renaissance fondness for concrete detail, and delights in adding amplifying touches to his original. Some illustrations of this have already appeared in passages quoted for other purposes. A few additional examples of fuller expansions may be given.

The dasse, in his defence of Reynart for assaulting the hare when he was professing to be his teacher, says (p. 8) 'yf he rede ne lerned a ryght his lesson sholde not reynart his maister bete hym therfore yf the scholers were not beten ne symten and reprised of their truantrye they shold never lerne'.

This becomes in the mouth of Melphilus (Act I. iii, f. 9):

Quod, si scolasticus male lectiunculam
Discit suam, et sine fructu tempus conterit:
Suiqꝫ praeceptoris iussa haud conficit,
Sed dicta spernit illius, quid tum obsecro?
An non eum verberibus debet caedere?
Aut disceret nunquam, aut certe haud sine maximo
Laboris et pecuniae, atqꝫ temporis
Dispendio. Nam quod docere sese eum
Pollicitus est, cogebat error illius,
Cogebat officiũ, cogebat charitas,
Nec institutum eius erat illum occidere,
Sed vellicabat aures eius, vt solent
Quibus docendi traduntur scolastici
Quoties suum haud faciunt illi officiũ bene.

Another passage, which Worsley expands, relates to education at a higher stage. Isegrym tells the fox, with the conscious pride of a *savant* (p. 62): 'I can wel frenshe latyn englissh and duche.

I have goon to scole at oxenford.' Pamphagus, in the play (Act IV. v, f. 81), is an even more accomplished linguist, and has had wider academic experience:

> Linguas omnes tum loqui quidem,
> Tum legere calleo, Graecam, latinam, gallicam, anglicam,
> Hebraïcam, Chaldaïcam, Germanicam,
> Tum liberalibus quidem artibus paduae atq; oxoniae
> Annos triginta totos traditus a parentibus fui.[1]

He gets an opportunity later for the display of his learning, when he sees the she-ape and her children in their hole. In Caxton's *Historye*, the wolf cries (p. 100): 'Alas me growleth of thyse fowle nyckers. Come they out of helle, men may make devylles a ferd of hem.' Pamphagus embroiders these simple exclamations of terror with lurid imagery from the classical underworld (Act V. iii, f. 117):

> Quid . . . hic video infoelix: quid eciam ingressus sum? Stigem?
> Papé quid hoc serpentis est, fimo, merdaq; ita obsitum?
> Hei mihi quid hoc autem? videon laruas, lemures, aut daemones?
> Deus bone vnde venerunt? ab inferis? prò Iupiter
> Opinor é barathro prodibant, adeo omnes sunt squalidi.
> Perij miser, quid ago hîc? regia plutonis et proserpinae est.

In more deliberately mock-heroic vein is the soliloquy, added by Worsley to his original, in which the cock, at the beginning of Act I. iv. (ff. 10–1), invokes the universe to contemplate the unparalleled miseries that he has suffered at Reynart's hands:

> O me miserrimum · o vivencium omnium
> Quos terra sustinet iam infoelicissimum!
> Ecquis malis istis grauiora pertulit?
> Ecquis malis tantis vnquam oppressus fuit?
> Eccui noverca fortuna magis quam mihi?
> O sol beate, o luna formosissima,
> O sydera, o coelum, o tellus, o Iupiter
> Qui cuncta solus aspicis, solus tenes
> Quae gesta sunt, in coelo in terra et in mari,
> Et facta spectas omnium vivencium:
> Haeccine vides mala et graves iniurias
> Et singulos accrescere in dies sinis?
> Vae mihi. Quis est tam durę mentis obsecro
> Quem non in altos luctus inq; lachrimas
> Rerum mearum atrox status deiecerit?
> Quid igitur incoeptem primū? aut quid cogitem?
> Quid comminiscar, omnium miserrimus?
> Nullus ne iam mei doloris exitus?

[1] In the prose version he has had an even more varied University training, as he has followed the arts 'Padue, Luteciae, Oxoniae, Cantabrigiae'.

Nullus ne finis est timoris? hem. mori
Praestat mehercule quam in his semper malis
Curisq; viuere. Ah mortis iam imaginem
Qui vult videre me contempletur modo.
Frustra sed hic querimur vbi nemo audiat:
Proinde eamus ad senatum sedulo.

Another humorous addition by Worsley is on the stock subject of the deception of husbands by their wives. In the *Historye*, Isegrym accuses the fox of having corrupted the she-wolf, and the dasse, in his defence of Reynart, declares that 'he doth to hymself no worshyp thus to sklaundre his wyf'. In the comedy, Melphilus further reminds Pamphagus that he is but sharing the lot of husbands in general (Act I. iii, f. 8):

Et quid putas queso nullum vspiam antea
Fuisse coniugem cui tanta iniuria
Commissa erat per leuitatem vxoris suae?
An primus es tu, vel futurus vltimus?
Ne crede, nam multi sunt integerrimi
Qui iam fuere illusi similibus modis.
Vix experias enim vnam in multis millibus
Quae se fidelem seruat coniugi suo.

But even wives who are true to their marriage-vows may do their husbands injury by their short-sightedness and self-confidence. This is illustrated amusingly by Worsley in his handling of the situation in Act IV. ii, f. 72, where the King, hearing of Reynart's fresh misdeeds, reproaches the Queen, Erindra, for having induced him to pardon the malefactor. Caxton makes her reply as follows:

'Sire pour dieu ne croyes mye toutes choses que on vous dye et ne Jures pas legierment. A man of worship shold not lyghtly bileve ne swere gretly unto the tyme he knewe the mater clerly, and also he ought by right here that other partye speke. There ben many that complayne on other and ben in the defaute themself. *Audi alteram partem.* here that other partye. I have truly holden the foxe for good and upon that that he mente no falsehede I helped hym that I myghte. but how somever it cometh or gooth, is he evyl or good, me thynketh for your worship that ye shold not procede ayenst hym over hastely that were not good ne honeste ffor he may not escape fro you. Ye maye prysone hym or flee hym, he muste obey your Jugement.'

In the play, this speech is elaborated into a remarkable *apologia* by the Queen. She begins by a confident reassertion of the value of her advice:

Quamquam meo mi vir te consilio modó
Fuisse deceptum tam saepe obieceris,

Spero tamen meum consilium nunc tibi
In hac eadem re prodesse maxime.
Te namq; nolim huius rei esse iam inscium,
Huc me modo coram vobis procedere,
Nimirū enim compulsa vel dictis tuis,
Vt memet expurgem hic licentia tua.

She then, as in the original text, admonishes her husband on the necessity of caution and impartiality in his judgements:

Proinde principio te (vti regem decet)
Considerare, atq; animaduertere hoc velim
Quod iudicem vllum haud facile cuiquam credere
Aut pro leui causa quavis irascier
Aut saepius iurare neutiquam decet:
Sed vtraq; parte audita, attentis auribus,
Sicut suo iudicio bene videbitur
Iuxta aequitatem, iusticiamq; iudicat.
Nam temeritas iusticiam semper impedit.

In spirited fashion she protests that if the fox has violated the conditions on which she begged his life, that is not her concern:

Porro quod in me sola culpam transferas
Quod te nimisquam leuiter consilio meo
Credente, nunc haec contigerint mala omnia:
Eius quidem vitam me fateor sedulo
Orasse te, et parcere ei: at lege ea tamen
Vti rapina solita, et omni malicia
Furtoq; pristino relicto, postea
Nocere tandem moliretur nemini.
Verum ipse si (quemadmodum intellexerim)
Parte aliqua in his fidem suam mutauerit:
Quid illud ad me? num mea quicquam refert?
Numve ipsa ob hanc causam culpanda sum obsecro?
Tantam tuo nolim animo inesse insciciam.

And whatever be the measure of Reynart's misdeeds, she feels sure that the Senate (to whom for the moment she deftly turns) will not condemn him unheard:

Ad haec ita esse finge, illo peius nihil,
Nihil dolosius esse, aut flagiciosius:
Vobis tamen patres, qui aequi estis iudices,
Credite mihi longe alienissimum foret
Tam leviter illum, praesertim cum absens modo est,
Damnare, nimirum istis delatoribus
Falsisq;.

She reminds her husband (as in the *Historye*) that the fox cannot escape from him:

Scis namq; nullis artibus manus tuas
Effugere posse aut impunitum elabier.
Tibiq; fas est illum inijcere in carcerem
Et si nocens fuerit, cruci diffigere.

And then, in a lofty exhortation, for which Caxton gives no hint, she bids him be true to the highest conception of his kingly office:

Regem memento te esse, et rectorem omnium
Memento iusticiae, atq; iudicij simul,
Memento dignitatis, et sceptri tui.
Non absq; causa sceptra dantur regibus
Vt iudicent iuste, et defendant pauperes.
Deniq; nihil magis imperatores decet
Quam subditos suos vincere clementia.

It is remarkable, some forty years before *The Merchant of Venice*, to find this Portia of the forest anticipating the impassioned plea that the quality of mercy

becomes
The throned monarch better than his crown
. . . . . .
And earthly power doth then show likest God's
When mercy seasons justice.[1]

But Eulebius, instead of being impressed by his wife's eloquence, rebukes her sharply for her obstinate championship of a manifest rogue:

Hem vxor mea obsecro quid hunc nefarium
Furemq; mendacem excusas, ita vt antea?
Satis profecto apparet istec facinora
Et foeda flagicia admisisse pessimum.

Whereupon the Queen, dropping stately declamation for the keener weapons of advocacy, urges that there is no first-hand evidence against the fox, and that when confronted previously with his accusers he completely turned the tables upon them:

Quî scis, an ipse interfuisti vlli obsecro?
Numnam aliquis horum testes producere potest?
Flagicia qui haec illum fecisse comprobent?
Iam eciam satis vobis hic ante apparuit,
Illum, priusquam huc se expurgatum venerat,
Reum fuisse, horum falsis querimonijs,
Similesq; porro istis fecisse iniurias.
Sed cum os ad os hic coram vobis affuit,
Quid dixit illis? quis tandem culpabilis
Reusq; flagicij illius inventus fuit?
An non vos omnes falsos probauerit?

[1] Possibly Worsley may have had in mind sentences from Seneca's *De Clementia*, which Prof. Sonnenschein has suggested as the source of Portia's speech. See *The University Review*, vol. i, 25–6 (1905).

An quisquam erat qui illum refelleret obsecro?
Nemo hercle opinor, erant omnes muti illico.

In this scene, and in the other main additions to the original text, Worsley shows such a gift for racy and spirited dialogue that we regret that he has not left us a work in which his own invention had freer scope. Yet his play will always have a special interest as one of the very few 'beast-dramas' written by an Englishman.

APPENDIX III

THE CAMBRIDGE BURLESQUE OF THE IMPRISONED BISHOPS

PERFORMED AT HINCHINBROOK, AUGUST 10, 1564.

IN the accounts by eyewitnesses of Elizabeth's visit to Cambridge, expression has been given, as has been seen,[1] to the keen disappointment felt by the scholars at the abandonment of the performance of *Ajax Flagellifer* on August 9, 1564, the last evening of the Queen's residence at King's College. No hint is dropped by Stokys, Robinson, or Hartwell, that any other 'show' had been rehearsed for this evening.

But a letter dated August 19, from Guzman de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador, who had arrived in London early in the previous June, to the Duchess of Parma, contains a remarkable supplement to the accounts by English contemporaries. The letter is preserved among the Simancas MSS. A transcript was made of it by J. A. Froude, and is included among the MSS. presented by him to the British Museum in December, 1864 (Addit. 26056 A, f. 237). It is translated by Martin Hume in the *Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English affairs preserved principally in the archives of Simancas*, 1558–67, p. 375 (1892).

The introductory part of the letter may be given in Hume's translation:

'When the Queen was at Cambridge they represented comedies and held scientific disputations, and an argument on religion in which the man who defended Catholicism was attacked by those who presided, in order to avoid having to give him the prize. The Queen made a speech praising the acts and exercises, and they wished to give her another representation, which she refused in order to be

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 97.

no longer delayed. Those who were so anxious for her to hear it followed her to her first stopping-place, and so importuned her that at last she consented.'

The 'first stopping-place' was Hinchinbrook Priory, the seat of Sir Henry Cromwell, grandfather of the Protector, where the Queen had arranged to spend the night of August 10. The performance that there took place is thus described by De Silva:

'Entráron los representantes en habitos de Algunos de los Obispos que estan presos; fué el primero el de Londres llevando en las manos un cordero como que le iba comiendo, y otros con otras devisas, y uno en figura de perro con una hostia en la boca. La Reyna se enojó tanto segun escriben que se entró a priesa en su camara diciendo malas palabras, y los que tenian las hachas, que era de noche, los dexáron á escuras, y assí cesó la inconsiderada y desvergonçada representaçion.'[1]

The Ambassador, it will be noticed, writes from London, and was dependent for his information upon correspondents. But there is no reason to doubt the general accuracy of his account of what took place at Hinchinbrook. The Queen, who never had any sympathy with advanced Protestantism, was at this time particularly anxious to maintain good relations with Spain, and to check anti-Papal manifestations. A performance, therefore, ridiculing Bonner and Gardiner and their fellows, and burlesquing the most sacred rites of the Roman Catholic Church, would naturally provoke her to an outburst of anger such as is described in the letter. Moreover, the account of the torch-bearers leaving the performers in darkness is a vivid contemporary touch which goes far to guarantee the truth of De Silva's story.[2] But it is possible to accept the story without giving it such disproportionate importance as Froude has done. Though his account of the royal visit to Cambridge is otherwise based upon the narratives in Nichols's *Progresses of Elizabeth*, he omits all mention of the dramatic performances, except as follows:[3]

[1] Translated by Hume as follows: 'The actors came in dressed as some of the imprisoned Bishops. First came the bishop of London carrying a lamb in his hands as if he were eating it as he walked along, and then others with devices, one being in the figure of a dog with the Host in his mouth. They write that the Queen was so angry that she at once entered her chamber using strong language and the men who held the torches, it being night, left them in the dark, and so ended the thoughtless and scandalous representations.' *op. cit.*, 375. It should be noted that the translation omits 'other' before 'devices', and that 'una hostia' is rendered as 'the Host'.

[2] Cf. Stokys's account of the torch-bearers at the performance of the *Aulularia*, *supra*, p. 93.

[3] *History of England*, vii. 205.

'Elizabeth had been entreated to remain one more evening[1] to witness a play which the students had got up among themselves for her amusement. Having a long journey before her the following day, and desiring to sleep ten miles out of Cambridge to relieve the distance, she had been unwillingly obliged to decline.

The students, too enamoured of their performance to lose the chance of exhibiting it, pursued the Queen to her resting-place. She was tired, but she would not discourage so much devotion, and the play commenced.'

Then follows the substance of De Silva's report.

But it is evident from the detailed statements of Stokys and Robinson, that the play intended to occupy Elizabeth's last evening at Cambridge was the *Ajax Flagellifer*. It is scarcely credible that a religious burlesque should have been arranged for the same occasion. Nor is it likely that Dr. Kelke and his colleagues, of whom one at least, Dr. Thomas Legge, had pronounced Romanist sympathies, would have sanctioned such a ribald production as part of the official programme for the Queen's entertainment. It is probable that the burlesque was an unauthorized addition by some of the younger scholars, who followed Elizabeth to Hinchinbrook, in order to perform it; and that De Silva, writing from London, mistook it for the play which had been countermanded on the evening of August 9.

In any case, Froude, making the most of his interesting discovery among the Simancas MSS., and with his attention concentrated on the religious situation, gives a characteristically distorted representation of the royal visit in its theatrical respect. He ignores everything but this one episode, to which he assigns momentous significance:

'It was but a light matter, yet it served to irritate Elizabeth's sensitiveness. It exposed the dead men's bones which lay beneath the whited surface of University good order; and she went back to London with a heart as heavy as she carried away from it.'[2]

There is even less basis for the confident assertion of a more recent writer:[3]

'The report of this was not only widely circulated through the realm but to all the courts of Europe, as indeed it is possible Elizabeth intended it should be, by ambassadors and strangers in England and by England's ambassadors abroad. After such drastic treatment it would be strange if any man would risk incurring the odium which

[1] This is wrong. There was no question of the Queen staying at Cambridge later than the morning of August 10. It was the play arranged for the evening of August 9 that she had been too tired to hear.

[2] *op. cit.*, vii. 205–6.

[3] Mary Sullivan, *Court Masques of James I*, p. 161 (1913).

rested upon the University, and more especially upon the writers and actors for all time to come.'

What is certain is that the Hinchinbrook episode was one of the reasons for De Silva accompanying Elizabeth two years later to Oxford. But he found nothing there for adverse comment. As he wrote to Philip II on Friday, September 6, 1566: 'In the various lectures, disputations, and comedies only ordinary matters have been treated, and nothing has been said about religion.'[1] Hence on the 7th, when the Court had moved on to the next stopping-place in the 'Progress', he could praise all that he had seen without diplomatic reservation. 'The Spanishe Embassador at Braddenton y^e^ L. Wȳde sores in y^e^ p^r^sence great chamber at supper on Satterdaye followinge, spake these wordes: memorabilia pfecto sunt Oxoniensiū spectacula.'[2]

APPENDIX IV

A LIST OF UNIVERSITY PLAYS

THE following list contains the names of plays known to have been performed at Oxford or Cambridge during the Tudor period. Those still extant are printed in Roman type; those that have disappeared are in italics. Plays written in English are distinguished by an 'E' after the title; those written in Greek by a 'G'. All other plays in the list may be assumed to have been in Latin, though in the case of a very few non-extant pieces, this is not certain. Except for a few items of special interest, the only plays here recorded are those whose names are known. These form, of course, only a fraction of the tragedies, comedies, and miscellaneous 'shows' produced on College stages during the Tudor period. This is most strikingly illustrated in the case of Magdalen College, Oxford. Though it was one of the greatest centres of academic acting, there is no extant play which can be said without doubt to have been performed there before the death of Elizabeth. Nevertheless, the following list, which includes almost a hundred plays, of which some were performed more than once, may be taken as representative of the various dramatic

[1] *Calendar of Letters and State Papers, Spanish.*

[2] Twyne MSS. XVII. f. 160. For De Silva's commendation of *Marcus Geminus* see *supra*, p. 102.

types that were popular during the sixteenth century at Oxford and Cambridge.[1]

Date	*Univ.*	*College*	*Play*	*Author*
1520–32	C	St. John's	*Microcosmus* *Mundus Plumbeus*	Artour, T.
1535–43	O	Magdalen	*Piscator siue Fraus Illusa*	Hoker, J.
1536	C	St. John's	Plutus (G)	Aristophanes
1537 October	O	Magdalen (?)	Thersites (E)	Anon.[2]
1540	O	Brasenose	Christus Rediuiuus	Grimald, N.
1540–	O	Merton or Ch. Ch.[3]	*Christus Nascens* *Protomartyr* *Fama* *Athanasius siue infamia* *Troilus* (E) *De puerorum in musicis institutione* (E)[4]	Grimald, N.
c. 1540	C	St. John's	*Absalon*[5]	Watson, T.
1543	C	Queens'	'dialogus'[6]	Textor, R.
c. 1544	C	Trinity	Ἰεφθάε (G)[7]	Christopherson, J.
1545 Lent	C	Christ's	Pammachius[8]	Kirchmayer, T.
1546 Christmas	C	Trinity	Pax (G)	Aristophanes
1546–7	O	Ch. Ch.	Archipropheta	Grimald, N.
1547/8 26 Jan.	C	Queens'	Heli	Ziegler, H. (?)
1549 February	C	Queens'	Penulus	Plautus
1550–60	C	Christ's	GammerGurtonsNedle (E)	'Mr S.' (? Bridges, J.)[9]
1551–2	C	Trinity	Troades Menaechmi	Seneca Plautus

[1] A number of Cambridge entries between 1549 and 1583, from the accounts of Trinity, Jesus, and St. John's, are taken from the list by G. C. Moore Smith in *Plays performed in Cambridge Colleges before 1585* (*Fasciculus J. W. Clark dicatus*, 265–73).

[2] A version of R. Textor's *Thersites*; probably performed before as a Christmas play.

[3] The six last plays, mentioned by Bale (cf. *supra*, p. 32) were probably written while Grimald was in residence at either of these Colleges, and presumably for performance.

[4] Though quoted by Bale under this title, the play is stated by him to have been in English.

[5] Probably not the same play as B. M. Stowe MS. 957 (cf. Appendix II).

[6] Probably *Thersites* in the original text (cf. *supra*, p. 21).

[7] The Latin version of this play is not extant (cf. *supra*, p. 45).

[8] An abbreviated version was performed (cf. *supra*, pp. 22–3).

[9] Cf. *supra*, pp. 82–8.

Date	*Univ.*	*College*	*Play*	*Author*
c. 1552–3	C	Queens'	*Strylius*	Robinson, N.[1]
1553–6 Christmas	O	New College	'A lernyd tragedy'[2]	Anon.
1554 February	C	Queens'	Stichus	Plautus
1554–5	C	Trinity	'*de crumena perdita*'	Anon.[3]
1557 7 Jan.	C	Trinity	'a commedie'	Plautus
1559–60	C	Trinity	Oedipus	Seneca (?)
			'*both the English plaies*'	Anon.
		Trinity	Mostellaria	Plautus
		Trinity	Sapientia Solomonis[4]	Birck, Sixt (?)
		Trinity	Hecuba	Seneca (?)
1560–1	C	Trinity	Amphitruo	Plautus
		Trinity	Troades	Seneca (?)
		Trinity	Medea	Seneca (?)
		Trinity	Acolastus	Gnaphaeus, W.
1562–3	C	Jesus	Adelphi	Terence
			Curculio	Plautus
	C	Trinity	Pseudolus	Plautus
			John babtiste	Buchanan, G. (?)
1562–3	C	Trinity	Christus Triumphans	Foxe, J.
		Trinity	Adelphi	Terence
			Phormio	Terence
1563 Feb.	C	Queens'	Medea	Seneca (?)
1563–4	C	Jesus	Eunuchus	Terence
1563–4	C	Trinity	Trinummus	Plautus
			Bacchides	Plautus
1564 Aug. 6	C	King's	Aulularia	Plautus
Aug. 7		King's	Dido	Haliwell, E.
Aug. 8		King's	*Ezechias* (E)	Udall, N.
Aug. 9		King's	*Ajax Flagellifer*[5]	Sophocles
Aug. 10		(At Hinchinbrook)	*A burlesque on the Romanist bishops* (E.?)[6]	Anon
1564–5	C	Trinity	Stichus	Plautus
		Trinity	Philanira	Roilletus, C. (?)
1565–6	C	Trinity	Asotus	Macropedius, G.
			Asinaria	Plautus
			Crumenaria[7]	Anon.
			Menaechmi	Plautus

[1] Cf. *supra*, pp. 22–3.

[2] Had an historical plot, and needed garments from the Revels (cf. *supra*, p. 89 *n.*).

[3] 'Exhibited by Matthew Hutton, afterwards Archbishop of York, who may have been its author' (G. C. M. S).

[4] Possibly the same version of Birck's play as B. M. MS. 20061, performed at Court, 1565–6 (cf. *supra*, p. 21 *n.*).

[5] A Latin version of Sophocles' tragedy; prepared for this event but not performed.

[6] Possibly a dumb-show; the performance not concluded (cf. Appendix III).

[7] '*Query*, the same play as "de crumena perdita" acted at Trinity eleven years before?' (G. C. M. S.)

Date	*Univ.*	*College*	*Play*	*Author*
1566 Sept. 1	O	Ch. Ch.	*Marcus Geminus*	Some Ch. Ch. scholars[1]
Sept. 2		Ch. Ch.	*Palamon and Arcyte* Part I (E)	Edwardes, R.
Sept. 4		Ch. Ch.	*Palamon and Arcyte* Part II (E)	Edwardes, R.
Sept. 5		Ch. Ch.	*Progne*	Calfhill, J.[2]
1566–7	C	Trinity	Iephthes	Christopherson, J. (?)[3]
156$\frac{9}{7}$ Jan. 3	O	Merton	*Wylie Beguylie* (E)	Anon.
Feb. 7		Merton	Eunuchus	Terence
156$\frac{7}{8}$ *c.* Jan. 18	O	Merton	Damon and Pythias (E)[4]	Edwardes, R.
Jan. 21			Menaechmi	Plautus
1569 May	O	Ch. Ch.	*The Destruction of Thebes*[5]	Anon.
c. 157$\frac{8}{9}$ March	C	St. John's	Hymenaeus	Fraunce, A. or Hickman, H. (?)[6]
c. 1579–83	C	St. John's	Victoria[7]	Fraunce, A.
1579 Christmas even	C	Jesus	Bacchides	Plautus
15$\frac{79}{80}$ March	C	St. John's	Richardus Tertius	Legge, T.
1580–98	C	Caius	*The Destruction of Jerusalem*[8]	Legge, T.
158$\frac{9}{1}$ Feb. 6 (?)	C	Trinity	Pedantius	Wingfield, A.[9]
1581–2	C	Jesus	*Puer vapulans*[10]	Anon.
158$\frac{1}{2}$ (Jan. 7)	O	Trinity	Supposes (E?)	Gascoigne, G.(?)[11]
158$\frac{1}{2}$ (*c.* Feb. 15)	O	Ch. Ch.	*Caesar Interfectus*[12] Meleager	Eedes, R. Gager, W.
c. 1582[13]	O	Ch. Ch.	Bellum Grammaticale	Hutten, L.
158$\frac{2}{3}$ *c.* Feb. 23	C	Pembroke	*Comedy satirizing the Mayor of Cambridge* (E?)	Mudde, T.[14]

[1] Cf. p. 101.
[2] Probably adapted by him from G. Corraro's *Progne*.
[3] Either the Greek or Latin form of his play, or G. Buchanan's tragedy.
[4] A revival of the play acted by the Children of the Chapel at Court, Christmas 1564.
[5] Prepared, but probably not performed (cf. p. 158); probably a Latin play, as it was to be acted before a foreign visitor.
[6] See p. 135. [7] A version of L. Pasqualigo's *Il Fedele*.
[8] A Latin tragedy, which was not performed (cf. p. 131).
[9] Cf. *supra*, pp. 148–9.
[10] 'The entry in the accounts is merely "Item to Mr. Murgetrod for puer vapulans Ls. x*d*." I take it, however, to refer to a comedy. N. Frischlein's *Priscianus vapulans* was printed at Strasburg in 1580' (G. C. M. S.).
[11] Cf. *supra*, p. 161. [12] The epilogue alone is extant.
[13] Cf. *supra*, p. 256. [14] Cf. *supra*, p. 324.

Date	*Univ.*	*College*	*Play*	*Author*
1583 June 11	O	Ch. Ch.	*Riuales*	Gager, W.
June 12		Ch. Ch.	Dido	Gager, W.
1583	C	St. John's	Persa	Plautus
158$\frac{4}{5}$ (Jan.)	O	Ch. Ch.	Meleager[1]	Gager, W.
c. 158$\frac{5}{6}$	C	Clare Hall	*Tarrarantantara turba trigonum Tri-Harueyorum*[2]	Anon.
	C	Peterhouse	*Duns furens*[3]	Anon.
c. 1586	C	St. John's	*Terminus et non terminus*	Nash, T. and a fellow student
1588	O	Ch. Ch.	Octavia	pseudo-Senecan (?)
159$\frac{1}{2}$ Feb. 6	O	Ch. Ch.	Vlysses Redux	Gager, W.
Feb. 7	O	Ch. Ch.	*Riuales*[4]	Gager, W.
Feb. 8			Hippolytus[5]	Seneca
1592 Sept.	O	Ch. Ch.	Vlysses Redux[6]	Gager, W.
Sept.			Bellum Grammaticale[6]	Hutten, L.
c. 1592	C	Trinity	Roxana	Alabaster, W.
c. 1594 (?)	O	Trinity	Caesars Reuenge (E)	Anon.
159$\frac{5}{6}$ (?) March 1	C	Queens'	Laelia[7]	Anon.[8]
159$\frac{6}{7}$ Jan. 13	C	St. John's	Siluanus	Anon.
159$\frac{8}{7}$ Commencement day (March)	C	St. John's	Hispanus	Anon.[9]
1597 Dec. 9	C	St. John's	Machiauellus	Anon.
1598 Christmas	C	St. John's	The Pilgrimage to Parnassus (E)	Anon.
159$\frac{8}{9}$ Jan. 7 (?)[10]	C	Trinity	Leander[11]	Hawkesworth, W.
1599–1600	C	Clare Hall	Club Law (E)	Ruggle, G. (?)[12]
1601	C	St. John's	The Return from Parnassus, Part I (E)	Anon.

[1] A revival before the Chancellor, the Earl of Leicester.
[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 322.
[3] Rendered in the vernacular by Nash as *Dick Harvey in a frensie.*
[4] A revival.
[5] With additional scenes by Gager.
[6] Revivals before Queen Elizabeth.
[7] An adaptation of *Gl' Ingannati* through the French version *Les Abusez.*
[8] George Meriton and George Mountaine may have been the adapters. See *supra*, p. 290.
[9] See *supra*, p. 298 *n.*
[10] See *supra*, p. 317.
[11] Probably suggested by G. B. della Porta's *La Fantesca.*
[12] See *supra*, p. 325 *n.*

Date	*Univ.*	*College*	*Play*	*Author*
1602 Christmas	C	St. John's	The Return from Parnassus, Part II (E)	Anon.
160$\frac{2}{3}$ (?) Twelfth-Night	O	St. John's	Narcissus (E)	Anon.
160$\frac{2}{3}$	C	Trinity	Leander[1]	Hawkesworth, W.
The Bachelors' Commencement (Mar.)		Trinity	Labyrinthus[2]	Hawkesworth, W.
160$\frac{2}{3}$ *c.* Easter	O	St. John's	Nero	Gwynne, M.

APPENDIX V

SOME ACTOR-LISTS

OXFORD.

Actors in the plays performed before Queen Elizabeth, September, 1566.

No Oxford play contains the names of the performers, but Thomas Neale has fortunately recorded the names of the actors before Queen Elizabeth from September 1 to 5, 1566, (Twyne MS. XVII, f. 160). He merely gives surnames (see *sup.* pp. 105–6), but with the help of the University registers, edited by C. W. Boase and A. Clark, and of Joseph Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, it is possible to identify almost every one in his list. There is nothing to indicate the parts taken by the various performers, or even the plays in which they appeared. But the three members of Corpus—Miles Windsor, Thomas Twyne, and John Rainolds—doubtless acted in *Palamon and Arcyte*, as Richard Edwardes had been at Corpus before he migrated to Christ Church. In fact, Rainolds himself states that he acted the part of Hippolyta (cf. pp. 106 and 232). Peter Carew, the young son of the Dean of Windsor, lately Dean of Christ Church, was probably the 'Ladie Aemilia whom the Queen rewarded' (cf. p. 103). Robert Smythe,

[1] A revival with some additional scenes.
[2] An adaptation of G. B. della Porta's *La Cintia* on the date of performance, see *infra*, p. 400.

who is designated 'nutrix', was probably the nurse of Itys in *Progne*, and 'Dalapers boye' may have played the part of the child.

Roger Marbeck, Ch. Ch.; stud. 1552; B.A. 1554/5; M.A. 1558; public orator 1564–5; provost of Oriel 1564–6.

Brian Baynes (Banes), Ch. Ch.; B.A. St. John's, Camb. 1549/50; incorp. at Oxf. 1552; M.A. 1552/3.

John Badger, Ch. Ch.; m. 1550; B.A. 1553; M.A. 1555.

William Ro(o)kes, Magd.; demy 1544; B.A. 1553; M.A. 1557; B.Med. 1561; fell. 1552–71.

John Ball, Ch. Ch.; stud. 1551; B.A. 1554/5; M.A. 1559/60; B.C.L. 1564.

John Buste, Ch. Ch.; stud. *c.* 1561; B.A. 1564/5; M.A. 1568; B.D. 1574/5.

or

Henry Buste, Magd.; B.A. and fell. 1560; M.A. 1564/5; D.Med. 1578.

Thomas Glasi(y)er, Ch. Ch.; stud. 1561; B.A. 1561; M.A. 1564/5; B.C.L. 1569; D.C.L. 1577; fell. and rector of Exeter Coll. 1578–1591/2.

Richard Bristowe, Ch. Ch.; B.A. 1559; M.A. 1562; fell. of Exeter Coll. 1567–72; president of Douay.

Thomas Thornton, Ch. Ch.; stud. 1561; B.A. 1560; M.A. 1563; canon, 1578; D.D. 1583; vice-chan. 1583 and 1599.

William Penson, Ch. Ch.; stud. 1561; B.A. 1561; M.A. 1564/5; canon of Hereford, 1567.

Thomas Potte(s), Ch. Ch.; stud. 1555; B.A. 1558; M.A. 1562.

Nicolas Potte(s), Ch. Ch.; B.A. 1561; M.A. 1564/5; M.P. for Bedford, 1584–5.

Tobie Matthew(e), Ch. Ch.; stud. 1561; B.A. 1563/4; M.A. 1566; pub. orator 1569–72; canon 1570–6; president of St. John's 1572–7; vice-chan. 1579; bishop of Durham, 1595; archbishop of York, 1606–28.

John Dalaper (or Dalaber), Ch. Ch.; B.A. 1561; M.A. 1564/5; B.Med. 1570; principal of Gloucester Hall.

Audley Danet(t), Ch. Ch.; B.A. 1563/4; M.A. 1566.

George Mansel (Mauncel), Ch. Ch.; m. 1555; B.A. 1558.

or

John Mansel, Magd.; demy 1556; B.A. 1558; M.A, 1562; fell. 1557–74.

Thomas Jones, Ch. Ch.; stud. 1555; B.A. 1558; M.A. 1562; D.C.L. 1572.

John Argall, Ch. Ch; B.A. 1562; M.A. 1565/6; B.D. 1582/3.
Henry Summer(s) (Somer), Ch. Ch.; B.A. 1561; M.A. 1564/5.
Stephen Townsend(e), Ch. Ch.; stud. 1561; B.A 1561; M.A. 1564/5; D.D. 1580.
Miles Wind(e)sor(e), C.C.C,; schol. 1556/7; fell. 1561; B.A. 1562; M.A. 1566.
Thomas Twyne, C.C.C.; schol. 1560; B.A. 1564; M.A. 1568; fell. 1564.
John Rainoldes, C.C.C.; schol. 1563; fell. 1566; B.A. 1568; M.A. 1572; D.D. 1585; fell. of Queen's 1586; dean of Lincoln, 1593; president of C.C.C. 1598.
Robert Dorset, Ch. Ch.; stud. 1561; B.A. 1564/5; M.A. 1567; canon 1572; D.D. 1579; dean of Chester, 1579.
Henry Grey (Gray), Ch. Ch.; stud. 1563; B.A. 1564/5; M.A. 1568.
[?] Egerton (Not identified).
Peter Carew (eldest son of George Carew, dean of Ch. Ch. 1559–61, and dean of Windsor, 1560–77); Exeter Coll.; B.A. 1572; knighted 1579.
(?) John Paule, Ch. Ch.; in residence in 1567; B.A. 1570/1.

or

(?) Rice Powell, Ch. Ch.; student 1567; B.A. 1569/70.
(?) Christopher Younge, (College unknown), B.A. 1563/4; M.A. 1566; chaplain at Windsor, 1568.
Edward Forde, Ch. Ch.; m. 1555; B.A. 1558.

or

John Forde, Ch. Ch.; stud. 1564; B.A. 1566; M.A. 1569.
Ralph Jutsam (Jutson), Magd.; clerk 1559; B.A. 1562; M.A. 1566; fell. of Exeter Coll. 1559–67.
(?) Robert Smythe, Ch. Ch.; stud. *c.* 1564; was an M.A. in 1580/1.
'Dalaper's boye', probably the servant of John Dalaper (see above).

Some actors in Christ Church plays 1582–92.

Occasional references in Gager's writings make it possible to identify some of the actors in his plays and those of his Christ Church contemporaries.

c. 1583. John Kinge, stud. Ch. Ch. 1577; B.A. 1579/80; M.A. 1582/3; dean 1605–11; vice-chan. 1607–10. Acted tragic parts (probably appeared in *Meleager*).[1]
c. 1583. Thomas Crane, stud. Ch. Ch. 1576; B.A. 1579/80; M.A. 1582/3. Acted comic parts.[2]

[1] 'Sunt laudi tragicae tibi partes, Kinge, furentes.' B. M. Addit. MS. 22583, f. 64. [2] 'Te persona magis Comica, Crane, decet.' *Ibid.*

c. 1583. Leonard Hutten, stud. Ch. Ch. 1574; B.A. 1578; M.A. 1581/2; preb. Ch. Ch. 1599; preb. St. Paul's 1609. Acted comic parts (probably appeared in *Bellum Grammaticale*).[1]

6 Feb. 1591/2. Francis Sidney, m. Ch. Ch. 1585; B.A. 1588; M.A. 1591; rector of Penshurst, 1617–33. Acted the title-part in *Vlysses Redux*, in which Phemius was played by the Master of the Choristers.[2]

8 Feb. 1591/2. Tobie Matthew, m. Ch. Ch. 1589/90; B.A. 1594; M.A. 1597; M.P. 1601/11; knighted 1623. Acted Naïs in Gager's additions to Seneca's *Hippolytus*.[3]

Cambridge.

A number of MSS. of Cambridge plays contain the names of the actors of the different parts. In each case the surname is given with the prefix 'Mr' for a Master of Arts, or 'D'='Dominus' for a Bachelor. Undergraduates are usually designated by their surnames only, though sometimes 'recens' precedes the name of a freshman, and 'soph.'='sophister' that of a second or third year man. It is thus possible, with the aid of *University of Cambridge Matriculations and Degrees*, 1544 to 1659 (ed. by John Venn and J. A. Venn), Thomas Baker's *History of St. John's College* (ed. by J. B. Mayor), and *Admissions to Trinity College* (ed. by W. W. Rouse Ball and J. A. Venn), to identify most of the actors. As a rule, the particulars of their academical status tally with and confirm the recorded dates of performances. In a few cases they are not consistent with these, either owing to an inaccuracy of the scribe, or some other reason that cannot be ascertained.

HYMENAEVS

Acted at St. John's College, March 1578/9.
(From the St. John's Coll. Cam. MS.)

proci

Erophilus — Mr. [Henry] Highman (Hickman), m. 1565; B.A. 1568/9; fell. 1571; M.A. 1572.

Pantomagus — Mr. [John] Palmer, m. 1567; B.A. 1571/2; fell. 1572/3; M.A. 1575; master of Magd. Coll. 1595; dean of Peterborough, 1597.

Fredericus — D. [? Thomas] Smith, m. 1576; B.A. 1579/80; fell. 1580/1; M.A. 1583; *or* Henry Smith, m. 1575; B.A. 1579/80.

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 256.

[2] Cf. *supra*, pp. 206 and 236.

[3] Cf. *supra*, pp. 200 and 246.

Pantaleo, seruus Erophili. D. [Peter] Titley, m. 1575; B.A. 1578/9; M.A. 1582.

Gothrio, seruus Pantomagi. Mr. [William] Bayley, m. 1570; B.A. 1574/5; M.A. 1578.

Leonardus, seruus Frederici. Mr. [John] Robinson, m. 1570; B.A. 1574/5; fell. 1577; M.A. 1578.

Julia, filia Alphonsi. Mr. [Thomas] Gargrave, m. 1573; fell. com.

Amerina, ancilla Juliae. Ds. [Thomas] Pylkyngton, m. 1573; B.A. 1578/9; fell. 1580/1; M.A. 1582.

Camillus, amicus Erophili. Mr. [Edward] Sedgwick, m. 1570; B.A. 1573/4; M.A. and fel. 1577.

Caupo. Ds [Roger] Morcell (Morrell), m. 1573; B.A. 1576/7; M.A. 1580; fell. 1580/1.

Sannio, seruus Alphonsi. D. [Richard] Harris, m. 1576; B.A. 1579/80; fell. 1580/1; M.A. 1583.

Alphonsus, pater Juliae. D. [Henry] Alney (Alvey), m. 1571; B.A. 1575/6; fell. 1577; M.A. 1579.

Ferdinandus, pater Erophili. [Abraham] Fraunce, m. 1576; B.A. 1579/80; fell. 1580/1; M.A. 1583.

Fures { [Henry] Punter, m. 1573; B.A. 1576/7 (see pp. 110–11).
[John] Harrison, m. 1575; B.A. 1579/80; fell. 1580/1; M.A. 1583.

Baiuli { [Thomas] Rockley, m. 1573; B.A. 1576/7; M.A. 1580.
[John] Micocke, m. 1576; B.A. 1578/9.

Duumuir. Mr. [Richard] Foxcroft, B.A. 1572/3; M.A. 1576; fell. 1577.

RICHARDVS TERTIVS

Acted at St. John's College, March 1579/80.

(From Emmanuel Coll. Cam. MS.: printed in Barron Field's edition.)

A separate list of *dramatis personae* is given in the MS. before each 'Actio'. One list is here substituted, with numerals indicating in which of the 'Actiones' each of the characters appears:

1, 3. Elizabetha Regina. D. [Leonard] Shephard, m. 1573; B.A. 1576/7; M.A. 1580.

1. Cardinalis, Archiepis: Cantu. Mr. [John] Fox, m. 1573; B.A. 1573/4; M.A. 1577.

1. Nuntius. Mr. [? Markam] Whaley, m. 1576 (but could not have proceeded M.A. in 1579/80).

1. Eduardus Rex. [? Philip] Howard, afterwards first Earl of Arundel; M.A. 1577. (No other Howard is traceable at St John's at this time, and the part is one naturally assigned to a young nobleman: the absence of Mr. may be due to his rank.)

1, 2. Richardus, dux Glocest.
3. Richardus Rex. } Mr. Palmar (see under *Hymenaeus*).

1, 2, 3. Dux Buckingh. Mr. [Philip] Stringer, m. 1565; B.A. 1567/8; fell. 1568; M.A. 1571.

1. Riuerius. Mr. [William] Wilkinson, m. 1570; B.A. 1574/5; fell. 1577; M.A. 1578.

1. Hastingus. Mr. [Robert] Booth, m. 1565; B.A. 1570/1; fell. 1572/3; M.A. 1574.

1, 3. Stanleus. Mr. [Samuel] Hodson, m. 1571; B.A. 1574/3; fell. 1577; M.A. 1578.

1. Sr. Howardus, postea dux Norfolciensis. Mr. [? James] Hill, m. 1565; B.A. 1568/9; M.A. and fell. 1572; B.D. 1579.

1, 2, 3. Louellus. Mr. Bayly (see under *Hymenaeus*).

1, 3. Episco. Eliensis. Mr. [Laurence] Stanton, m. 1566; B.A. 1569/70; fell. 1572; M.A. 1573; B.D. 1579/80; dean of Lincoln, 1601.

1, 3. Ancilla Reginae. Ds. Pilkington (see under *Hymenaeus*).

1, 3. Catsbeius, Iuris peritus. Mr. Robinson (see under *Hymenaeus*).

1. Sr. Howardus, Equestris ordinis. Mr. Hill (repeated by mistake from above).

1. Seruus ducis Glocestriae. Ds. Punter (see under *Hymenaeus*).

1. Hastingus, miles calligatus. Mr. [? Nathaniel] Knox, m. 1572; B.A. 1576/7; fell. 1577; M.A. 1580. (Eleazer Knox, his younger brother, who matriculated at the same time, did not proceed M.A. till 1581.)

1. Ciuis Londinensis.
2. Ciuis secundus. } Ds. Fraunce (see under *Hymenaeus*).

1. Chorus tumultuantiū ciuiū { Ds. [James] Howland, m. 1572; B.A. 1576/7; fell. 1577; M.A. 1580. Ds. [Christopher] Helowe (Heylie), B.A. 1578/9; M.A. 1582. Mr. [John] Kendall, m. 1570; B.A. 1573/4; M.A. 1577.

1. Archiepisco: Eboracensis. Ds. [? Robert] Remer (Reyner), m. 1573; B.A. 1576/7; M.A. 1590.

1. Seruiens ad arma. —

1. Prosecutor, vulgo *purseuant*. —

1. Richardus dux Eboracensis paruulus. [? Francis or John] Rhodes, med. Both m. in 1576, when also Peter Rhodes, aged 12, m. as 'impubes'.
1. Graius heros adolescens. Mr. [Henry] Bowes, m. 1574; B.A. 1577/8; fell. 1580/1; M.A. 1581.
1. Muti Vaghanus. —
1. Coniux Shori. [Thomas] Woodcocke, m. 1578.
1. Hawt. —
1. Sacerdos. —
1. Quinq; filiae Elizabethae Reginae. —
2. Praetor Londinensis. Mr. Aluey (see under *Hymenaeus*).
2. Fitz Williã, Recordor London, vt vulgo loquũtur. Mr. [Richard] Webster, m. 1572; B.A. 1575/6; fell. 1577; M.A. 1579.
2. Ciuis amicus Shawi. —
2. Doctor Shawe. Mr. [Richard] Clayton, m. 1572; B.A. 1576; M.A. 1579; master of Magdalene Coll. 1593; of St. John's, 1595; dean of Peterborough, 1607.
2. Ciuis primus. Ds. Morrell (see under *Hymenaeus*).
2. Hospes. Mr. Smith (see under *Hymenaeus*).
2. Nobilis. —
2. Seruus vnus et alter Buck. —
2. Muti Foggs. —
2. Muti Fagge. —
2. Muti Duo Epis. Ds. Remer (see under Arch. Ebor. *supra*).
2. Muti Duo Epis. Dr. [John] Methen (Myhen), m. 1573; B.A. 1577/8; M.A. 1581.
3. Filia Eduardi regis maior. Ds. Titley (see under *Hymenaeus*).
3. Brakenburius praefectus arcis. Mr. Foxcroft (see under *Hymenaeus*).
3. Tyrellus generosus. Mr. [Francis] Snell, m. 1569; B.A. 1573/4; fell. and M.A. 1577.
3. Ludouicus medicus. Mr. [Simon] Robson, m. 1569; B.A. and fell. 1572/3; M.A. 1576; dean of Bristol, 1598.
3. Anna Regina vxor Richardi. Mr. Gargrave (see under *Hymenaeus*).
3. Nuntius primus. Mr. Sedgwick (see under *Hymenaeus*).
3. Nuntius secundus. D. [Otwell] Hill, m. 1573; B.A. 1576/7; fell. 1578/9; M.A. 1580.
3. Nuntius tertius. [? Richard] Hoult, m. 1577; B.A. 1580/1. A John and a Ralf Hoult, m. in 1577/8, but did not graduate.

3. Nuntius quartus. Ds. Morrell (see under *Hymenaeus*).
3. Nuntius quintus. —
3. Henricus comes Richmondiae. Mr. Hickman (see under *Hymenaeus*).
3. Comes Oxonij. Mr. [Everard] Digby, m. 1567; B.A. 1570/1; fell. 1572/3; M.A. 1574.
3. Dux Norfolciensis. Mr. Hill se[nior] (see under Sr. Howardus, *supra*).
3. Rhesus Thomae Wallicus. Mr. [David] Linsell, m. 1568; B.A. 1571/2; fell. 1572/3; M.A. 1575.
3. Nuntius. Ds. Harris (see under *Hymenaeus*).
3. Mulier. —
3. Alia mulier. —
3. Anus. —
3. Hungerford } equestris D. Harrison (see under *Hymenaeus*).
3. Burchier } ordinis. Mr. Robinson (see under *Hymenaeus*).
3. Miles —
3. Gent. Filius Stanlei Dominus. Mr. [Henry] Constable, m. 1578; B.A. 1579/80; fell. com.
3. Strange. —
3. Centurio. —
3. Braa seruus comitissae Richmond. —
3. Dighton carnifex, a big sloven. [Elys] Redferne, m. 1578; B.A. 1581/2.
3. Comes Northumbriae. Mr. [Gabriel] Ducket, schol. of Trinity, 1560; B.A. 1562/3; fell. of St. John's, 1563; M.A. 1566.

Mutes

3. The yonge kinge and his brother lyinge dead in a bed.
3. Foure daughters of King Edward.
3. Souldiers vnarmed and armed.

SILVANVS

Acted at St. John's College, Jan. 13, 1596/7.
(From Douce MS. 234 in the Bodleian.)

Siluanus generosus. Ds. [Francis] Rollinson, m. (*c.*) 1591, B.A. 1594/5; M.A. 1598; fell. 1603.
Harpalus seruus. D. [Robert] Newton, m. (*c.*) 1592; B.A. 1595/6; M.A. 1599.
Babylo rusticus. [? Hamlet] Martiall (Marshall); B.A. 1599/1600; M.A. 1603.

Panthia, personatæ cui nomen Erastus. [Thomas] Heblethwyate, m. *c.* 1594.
Florinda. [John] Audelie, m. *c.* 1596.
Melissa. [John] Grace, m. *c.* 1596; B.A. 1600/1; fell. 1602; M.A. 1604.
Thalia. [Edmund] Casse, m. *c.* 1595; B.A. 1599/1600; fell. 1601; M.A. 1603.

HISPANVS

Acted at St. John's College, March 1596/7.
(From Douce MS. 234.)

Torquattus hispanus. Ds. [Nathaniel] Wib[urne], m. 1589; fell. and B.A. 1593/4; M.A. 1597.
Aurelius generosus. D. [Thomas] Walking[ton], m. *c.* 1593; B.A. 1596/7; M.A. 1600; fell. 1602.
Cornelius gen. rusticus. Ds. [Michael] Poll[ard], m. *c.* 1593; B.A. 1596/7; M.A. 1600.
Carolus seruus rusti. D. [William] Worsh[ipp], m. *c.* 1592; B.A. 1595/6; fell. 1598; M.A. 1599.
Bartolus seruus senis. D. Newton (see under *Siluanus*).
Rhomeo parasitus hispa. Soph. Roller.
Lucius seruus Aurelij. Recens Grace (see under *Siluanus*).
Pandolphus senex. Soph. [Robert] New[man?], m. *c.* 1594; B.A. 1597/8; M.A. 1601.
Siluia senis filia. Sophi. Heble[thwayte] (see under *Siluanus*).
Fuluia senis filia. rec. Audaly (see under *Siluanus*).
Polla aethiop. ancilla Sil. rec. Casse (see under *Siluanus*).

MACHIAVELLVS

Acted at St. John's College, Dec. 9, 1597.
(From Douce MS. 234.)

Andronicus senex. D. [John] Myllwarde, m. *c.* 1594; B.A. 1597/8.
Orlanda virgo. rec. Anthonye (? John Anthony, B.A. Magd. 1599/1600, whose College at matriculation is unknown).
Phalantus adolescens. D. [Robert] Lane, m. *c.* 1593; B.A. 1596/7; fell. 1598; M.A. 1600.
Jacuppus iudaeus. D. Rollinson (see under *Siluanus*).
Machiauellus. Mr. Wiburne (see under *Hispanus*).
Gullio seruus. rec. Grace (see under *Siluanus*).
Grillio seruus. D. Pollard (see under *Hispanus*).

Lorarij { Soph. [Nicholas] Staniland, m. *c.* 1594; B.A. 1598/9; M.A. 1602.
Soph. [Lancelot] Stanton, m. *c.* 1565 } B.A. 1599/1600; M.A. 1604.

Prologus. ? [Abraham] Smith, m. *c.* 1596; B.A. 1902; M.A. 1604.

LEANDER

Acted at Trinity College, 1598 (? 1598/9) and March 1602/3.
(From Sloane MS. 1762.)

The numbers indicate the actors in the first and second performances respectively.

Gerastus. 1. Ds. [Thomas] Kitchin. 2. Mr. Kitchin, sch. 1592; B.A. 1595/6; fell. 1597; M.A. 1599.

Leander, Fabius, Cocalus } 1, 2. Mr. [Walter] Hawk(e)sworth, m. 1588; B.A. ? 1591/2; fell. 1593; M.A. 1595.

Spinetta. 1. Ds. [Thomas] Booth(e), m. 1593/4; B.A. 1597/8; M.A. 1601.
2. [Mark] Twaites, B.A. 1603/4; M.A. 1607.

Ardelia. 1. Mr. [Henry *or* Richard] Chomley (Cholmeley). Two fell. commoners, probably brothers, m. *c.* 1595.
2. [William] Bing, m. 1602.

Jubilea. 1. Mr. [John] Barnard, m. 1588; B.A. 1592/3; M.A. 1596.
2. Mr. [Francis] Gardiner, m. 1593/4; B.A. 1597/8; fell. 1599; M.A. 1601.

Alphonsus. 1. 2. Mr. [Thomas] Hassall, m. *c.* 1591; B.A. ? 1594/5; M.A. 1598.

Vulpinus. 1. Mr. [James] Parker, m. 1589; B.A. 1592/3; M.A. 1596.
2. [Joshua] Blaxton, sch. 1600; B.A. 1603/4; fell. and M.A. 1607.

Flaminia. 1. [John] Tauerner, m. *c.* 1597; B.A. 1601/2; M.A. 1605;
2. Mr. North. ? A fell. commoner who m. in 1602, and is probably the John or Thomas North, both B.A. ? 1602/3; and M.A. 1606.

Rinoceron. 1. Ds [Gabriel] Rosse, m. *c.* 1593; B.A. 1596/7; M.A. 1600.
2. Ds. Tauerner (see above).

Diluuio. 1. Ds. [Samuel] Hikson (Higson), m. *c.* 1596; B.A. 1599/1600; M.A. 1603.

Hippocrassus. 1. Mr. [Robert] Kercher, m. 1587; B.A. 1590/1; fell. 1593; M.A. 1594; B.D. 1601.

2. Mr. [Edward] Liechfield, m. *c.* 1593; B.A. 1596/7; fell. 1599; M.A. 1600.

Gryllus. 1, 2. Mr. [George] Freeman, m. *c.* 1592; B.A. ? 1594/5; M.A. 1598.

Lucianus. 1. Ds. [? William] Green(e) (one member of Trinity of this name had proceeded M.A. in 1596; another, who m. *c.* 1592, is not known to have graduated): *or* [? John] Green(e), M.A. 1597.

2. Ds. [Edward] Simpson, sch. 1597; B.A. 1600/1; fell. 1602; M.A. 1604.

Fabritius. 1. [Miles] Forrest, sch. 1599; B.A. 1599/1600.

2. Mr. [John] Cropley, sch. 1596; B.A. 1596/7; fell. 1599; M.A. 1600.

Valerius. 1. Mr. [Thomas] Crompton, fell. commoner, m. 1598.

2. Mr. [?] Verney. (The earliest record of this name at Trinity is in 1608, when George and Richard Verney matriculated.)

Mincio puer Gerasti. 1. —; 2. [Edward] Goldingham, sch. 1601; B.A. 1605/6; fell. 1608; M.A. 1609.

Prologus. 1. —; 2. Forrest (see above).

LABYRINTHVS

Acted at Trinity College, March 1602/3 (?).

(From the Trin. Coll. MS.)

Most of the actors had appeared either in the second or both editions of *Leander*, and the particulars about them are not repeated here. But it is noticeable that these particulars do not as a whole support the date March 1602/3, which has been given to the play because it was performed the day after *Leander* (cf. *sup.* p. 317). Thus Taverner took his M.A. in 1605, and Twaites and Blaxton their B.A. in 1603/4. On the other hand, Simpson, who appears as a Bachelor, took his M.A. in 1604, and Nidd, who figures as an undergraduate, commenced B.A. in 1603/4. Hence there must be some inaccuracy, and no definite conclusion can be drawn. A MS. of the play at Lambeth gives no degree to Taverner and Simpson, and interchanges the parts of Bing and Cademan. These variations are probably merely blunders, as the details in a MS. in the University library tally with those in the Trinity MS.

Tiberius senex. Mr. Haukesworth.

Lepidus filius habitu faemineo. Mr. Verney.

Puer Tiberij. Goldingham.

Cassander senex. Mr. Tauerner.
Horatius adolescens filius Cassandri. Dnus Forrest.
Crispinus Horatij seruus. Dnus Twaites.
Lydia filia Cassandri. Bing.
Lysetta Lydiae ancilla. [Thomas] Cademan, m. 1601; B.A. 1605/6; M.A. 1609.
Synesius senex. Dnus Blaxton.
Lucretia habitu virili filia Synesij. Mr. North.
Faustulus seruus Synesij. Dnus Simpson.
Caelia Lucretiae nutrix. [Leonard] Nidd, m. 1602; B.A. 1603/4; M.A. 1607.
Don Piedro Pachecho D'Alcantara Hispanus. Mr. Kitchin.
Grillus seruus Hispani. Mr. Freeman.
Citharaedus. [Thomas] Wilkinson, m. 1601; B.A. 1605/6; M.A. 1609
Prologus. Mr. Hassall.

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